

OBSERVATIONS ON

THE HISTORIE
Of the Reign of
KING CHARLES:
Published by *H. L. Esq.*

FOR
Illustration of the Story, and Recti-
fying some Mistakes and Errors
in the Course thereof.

Horat. de arte Poet.
Hunc veniam petimúsq, damúsq, vicissim.

Tacit. Hist. Lib. i.
*Fidem professis in corruptam, nec amore quic-
quam, nec odio dicendum est.*

L O N D O N,
Printed for *John Clarke*, at his Shop under *S. Peters*-
Church in Cornhill, 1656.



To the worthily esteemed
H.L. Esq.

The Authour of the Historie of
the Reign of King *CHARLES.*

Sir,

I Have read your History of the Reign of King
CHARLES, and am sorry I had not so much ac-
quaintance with you, as to see your Papers, before you
put them to the Presse: Which had I done, I should
have advertised you of many things, wherein I finde,
that either your intelligence, or your diligence failed
you, or your judgment is not well informed, or that
you have been byassed from the mark of truth, by the
excesse and transport of your own affections. But be-
ing as it is, I beseech you to accept with a friendly
hand, that which with ingenuity mixed with free-
dome, is here offered to you, and hope you will not be
offended, if your History is become the text of so free
a Commentary. I know full well quam facile sit in-
ventis addere, how easie a thing it is to adde to an-
other mans indeavours, and raise a superstructure
upon that foundation, which hath been layed without

The Epistle Dedicatory.

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our trouble; but I am not ignorant withall, that many times the pains of the Commentator, are greater than their were whom he doth illustrate. Without which helps to guide us to the understanding of most antient Writers, how many of them had been thrown aside with disdain and scorn (as S. Ambrose is reported to have dealt with the Satyrs of Perseus) because not easily intelligible even to Learned men. I doubt not but it was your purpose, faithfully and impartially to inform your Reader in the truth of things; in which if you have failed by reason of any of the respects before recited, these following Observations, will serve both as a Supplement, to make good some points wherein I finde your Booke defective, and a Correction of some other passages, in which I finde you are mistaken. Between us both the History will be made more perfect, and consequently the Reader will be better satisfied: Which makes me somewhat confident, that these few Notes, will be so farre from making your History lesse vendible than it was before, that they will very much advantage and promote the sale. And if I can doe good to all, without wrong to any, I hope no man can be offended with my pains and industry. For my own part, as I first undertook this businesse with a minde free from love, or hatred, or any of those other affections, which preingagements in a party doe possesse men with, so I have carried it all along with such impartiality and confidence, as may witnesse for me that I preferre Truth before Interesse; and that none of Hugh Peters
his

The Epistle Dedicatory.

his three great Gyants, that is to say, Gyant-Fear, Gyant-Selfe, and Gyant-Relations, (which commonly obstruct the passage to all good intendments) have been able to prevaile upon me. And for your self, I desire you would please to know, that I have your parts and person in an high esteem, and have not took this task in hand, to detract any thing from those just honours which you have acquired, but onely to rectifie your judgments, and lay before you and your Reader the true state of things. That modest freedom I have used, in these Observations (especially the first and last) many perhaps at the first sight seem unpleasing to you. And yet so farre I am from despair of pardon, that I conceive my ingenuity at the last may deserve your thanks : it being ordinary with most men, who are under the hands of the Chirurgion, to be impatient with him, and exclaim against him whilst their Wounds are dressed, and yet to honour and commend him when the Cure is wrought ; howsoever you will gain this by it, that if you doe proceed to the end of the Story, as you somewhere intimate, you will be hereby made more carefull of the grounds you go on, and render the Second Part lesse capable of such Animadversions than the First hath been : which I more earnestly desire, than to engage my self in a second trouble, to which I hope you either will give no occasion, or pardon me if I doe.

October 8.

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An Advertisement to the **R E A D E R.**

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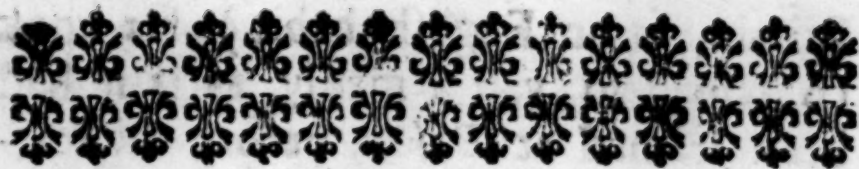
THOU hast here some *Observations* upon the *History of the Reigne of King CHARLES*, not long since published, which had come sooner to thy hands if there had been as much speed made at the *Presse*, as there was at the *Pen*. But this is not the onely injury the delay hath done us; for the extreme cold weather overtaking the Printers at their first entrance on the work hath so benumbed the fingers of the *Compositors*, and dulled the eyes of the *Correctors*, that thou art like to find a greater *Errata* than thou couldst reasonably expect in so small a Volume. The principal and most material I have here subjoyned, by which I desire thee to amend and correct the Book before thou settest thy self to the Reading of it. That pains being taken, the Book will be more acceptable unto all that read it, and I hope every one that reads it, will receive both profit and contentment answerable to his paines and charge. For though these *Observations* may probably be of most satisfaction to such as have the *History* by them, yet I conceive that even to those who have it not, they will yeild some benefit, by giving them a true account of many passages (exceeding necessary for the right understanding of the State of things) which our Author either hath omitted, or else misreported, or finally, not so clearly apprehended as he should have

To the Reader.

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have done. The *disputations* of *Machiavell* may be read with light and profit, without recourse unto the *Decads* of *Titus Livius*, whom he makes the Argument of his discourses; and we may read with like content the *Observations* of *Malvezzy* on the beginning of the *Annals* of *Cornelius Tacitus*, and yet not have that Author by us. This said, I have no more to adde, but to commend my pains to thy good acceptance. And so fare thee well.

ERRATA.



OBSERVATIONS

On the History of the Reign of King CHARLES.



Intending a few *Observa-
tions* on the newly pub-
lished History of the
Reign of King *Charles*,
to make it thereby the
more usefull to my selfe

and others, I have thought it fit and ne-
cessary to prepare my way, by offering
some considerations at the Authors style,
which by reason of many lofty, but un-
hewn words, no English Reader can
climb over. And the first word of this
kinde which I take notice of in the Book
it selfe, is,

Repandous] a new *Latin, English* word *Fol. 1.*
of our Authors making; of which, and
others of that stamp, extracted from the
Greek, Latin, French and Spanish (but all
dis-

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disguised, like the Soldiers of the Duke of Britain, in an English habit) his book contained so vast a medly, as if it had been framed at *Babell*, before the scattered company were united into Tongues and Languages. The History of a King of *England*, intended for the use and benefit of the *English Nation*, ought to be given us in such words, as either are originally of an English stock, or by continuall usage, and long tract of time, are become naturall and familiar to an English eare; and not in such new minted termes, and those too of a forreign, and outlandish Race, as are not to be understood without help of Dictionaries. It is true indeed, that when there is necessity of using either termes of *Law*, or *Logicall* notions, or any other words of *Art* whatsoever they be: an *Author* is to keep himselfe to such termes and words, as are transmitted to us by the Learned in their severall Faculties. But to affect new *Notions*, and indeed new *Nothings*, when there is no necessity to incite us to it, hath something in it, which deserveth a more strict enquire. It is observed of the *Romanists*, by Doctor *Fulke*, and others of our *Divines*, that when they could no longer keep their followers from having

the Scriptures laid before them in the English tongue, they so indeavoured to dim the light thereof by a dark Translation, that seeing they might see, but not understand; and to that end did thrust into it many obscure words, both *Greek* and *Latin*, which neither by long use were known, nor by continuall custome made familiar to an *English* Reader. Of which sort, you may take these few as a taste of the rest. That is to say, *Acquisition*, *Advent*, *Adulterate*, *Agnition*, *Archisynagogue*, *Alimos*, *Commessations*, *Condign*, *Contristate*, *Depositum*, *Didrachme*, *Dominicall day*, *Donaries* *Evacuated* from *Christ*, *Euro-Aquilo*, *Epinanited*, *Holocaust*, *Hosts*, *Neophite*, *Paraclete*, *Parasceve*, *Pasch*, *Præfinition*, *Presence*, *Prevaricator*, *Proposition*, *Loaves*, *Repropitiate*, *Resuscitate*, *Sabbatisme*, *Super-edified*, *Sancta-Sanctoris*, *Victims*, words utterly unknown to any *English* Reader, unlesse well grounded, and instructed in the Learned Languages, and consequently their whole Translation uselesse to most sorts of men. I cannot say that the *Author* of the *History* which we have in hand, was under any such necessity of writing, as the *Rhemists* were, or that it did affect obscurity on any such design, as the *Rhemists* did; but I

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may very warrantably and justly say, that in the Coining of new words, not to be understood by a common Reader, he hath not onely out-vied the *Rhemists*, but infinitely exceeded all that have gone before him. A vein of writing, which two the great Masters of the *Greek*, and *Roman* Eloquence had no knowledge of, who used such words in their addreses to the people, as were *illius temporis auribus accommodata* (as it is in *Tacitus*) accommodate and fitted to the times they lived in, and easily intelligible unto all that heard them. *Loquendum est cum vulgo*, was the antient rule. And certainly to speak so as to be understood by the meanest hearer, to write so, as to be comprehended by the vulgar Reader, is such a principle of Prudence, as well becometh the practice of the greatest Clerks. But it is with this our Author, as with many others, who think they can never speak elegantly, nor write significantly, except they do it in a language of their own devising, as if they were ashamed of their Mother-tongue, or thought it not sufficiently curious, to expresse their fancies. By meanes whereof, more *French* and *Latin* words have gained ground upon us, since the middle of the Reign of

of the Reign of King Charles.

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Queen Elizabeth, then were admitted by our Ancestors (whether we look upon them as the *Brittish* or *Saxon* race) not onely since the *Norman*, but the *Roman* Conquest, a folly handsomely derided in an old blunt *Epigram*, where the spruce Gallant thus bespeakes his Page or Laquay :

*Diminutive and my defective slave,
Reach my Corps coverture immediatly,
'Tis my complacency that rest to have ;
'Tis in consequence my person from Frigidities.*

*The boy believ'd all Welch his Master
(Speake
Till railed English, Rogue go fetch my
(Cloak,*

I had not given my selfe the trouble of this *Observation*, but to meet the humour of some men, who if pretenders to *French* or *Latin* tongues, pretend to an authority also of creating words, and giving us new formes of speaking, which neither King nor Keiser hath the power to doe, Moneyes and Coines are forthwith current, and universally admitted, as soon as they receive the stamp of Supream Authority. But it is not in the power of Kings or Parliaments to ordaine new words,

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words, without the liking and consent of the common people. Forreign Commodities, not Customed, are not safely sold; and Forreine words, till licensed, and approved by custome, are not fitly used. And therefore it was well said by an able Grammarian, to a great Emperor of Rome, *Homines donare civitate potes, verba item non potes*; that is to say, that he might naturalize whole Nations, by giving them the priviledges of a Roman Citizen, but that it was not in his power to doe so with words, and make them Free (as one might say) of the Latin tongue. In this case, Customs and Consent, and the generall usage, are the greatest Princes, and he that doth proceed without their authority, hath no authority at all to proceed upon: It being no otherwise with new Words, then with new Fashions in Apparell, which are at first ridiculous, or at least unsightly, till by continuall wearing, they become more ordinary. And so it is resolved by Horace, in his Book, *De Arte Poetica*.

Multa renascenter quæ nunc cecidere ca-
(dentque,
Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet
(usus ;
Quem penes arbitrium est, & vis & norma
(loquendi.

In English thus,

Many old words shall be resum'd. and some,
Now in great honour, shall as vile become,
If use so please ; to which alone belongs,
The power to regulate and direct our
tongues.

But lest our Author should affirm with
Cremulius Cordus in the story, *Ad eo fa-*
ctorum innocens sum ut verba mea argu-
antur, that we are faine to cavill with him
 for his words, for want of greater mat-
 ter to except against ; I shall forbear the
 prosecution of this Argument, till the
 close of all, and passe to such materiall
 points as shall come before me.

To whom the Prince returned answer, *Fol. 2.*
 that he would impower the Earl of Bristol,
 to give his Master all satisfaction in that
 particular,] that is to say (for so you
 must be understood in the words fore-
 going)

going) that he would make a *Proxie* to the Earle of *Bristol* to celebrate (in his name) the Marriage with the Lady *Infanta*. But there was no such *Proxie* made to the Earle of *Bristol*, that being a power and trust thought worthy of the *Catholick King*, and *Don Charles* his Brother, as appeareth plainly by the publick *Instrument* made to that effect, bearing date *August* the 8 *Anno* 1623. which being sealed by the *Prince* in due forme of Law, it was indeed committed to the custody of the Earle of *Bristol*, by him to be delivered to the King of *Spaine*, and *Don Charles* his Brother, or to either of them, as soon as the Dispensation should be brought from *Rome*, and this was all the *Power* which the Earle of *Bristol* had, which yet he had no power to execute, as it after proved.

col. 3. The Loyall hearted English could not distinguish between the Spanish match, and Charles his ruine.] That some of the Loyall hearted English were of that opinion, I shall easily grant, but they had other Opinions also, which did Bias with them; especially one opinion, that the near Alliance with that Crown, would arme the King with power to suppress that Faction, which began then to be
dradfull

of the Reign of King Charles.

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dreadfull to him, and have since been the
ruine of *Charles*, and his whole Posterity.
But other English hearts there are, of
no lesse *Loyalty*, and of as great affecti-
on to the Royal Family, and as great *Zea-*
lots of the true *Protestant* Religion here
by Law established, who think otherwise
of it, and that the ruine of *Prince Charles*
might by this match have been prevented.
The *Spaniard* for the most part found a
more steady friend, then the wavering
French. What else there was (which
might confirme them on the Post-fact) in
this perswasion I shall reserve unto my
selfe. But you proceed and tell us, after
Folio 5. *That England ever found the Spa-*
niard a worse Friend, then an Enemy.]
For this I thinke you have no reason, the
amity and correspondence between the
Nations having continued firme, and most
inviolate for many Ages, and never broke
(if not of late) but by the *English*, or on
their occasions. First, by the Invasion of
Spaine by the *Black Prince*, in the time of
Don Pedro of Castile, and the War car-
ried thither not long after by the Duke of
Lancaster; next, on the breach made
with *Charles* the fift, by King *Henry* the
Eighth, in pursuance of the injury done
unto him, in casting off *Queen Katharine*,
that

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that great Emperours Aunt; and finally by *Queen Elizabeth*, supporting the revolting *Netherlands* against *Philip* the second, their naturall and most lawfull Prince. If on this last and greatest provocation the *Spaniard* took up armes against us, he had all the reason in the world for his justification.

Tbid.

Who perceiving upon the whole summe, that the s^{lie} Spaniard practised to make an after-game of the Palatinate.] King James was not to be told that now (I mean upon the Prince's returne from *Spaine*) there being no such thing as the restoring of the *Palatinate* to the Prince Elector, in all the Articles of the Treaty, which were sworne between them: That was reserved as an after-game, but yet intended to be played by the *Spanish* Court, to the most honour and advantage of the *English* Nation, thereby to gaine the better welcome to the Royall Bride, when she came amongst us. For thus I finde it in a Letter from the Earle of *Bristol*, dated the 28. of *October*, not long after the Prince's coming home.

For the businesse of the Palatinate, as will appears by the joynt disppatch which Sir Walter Aston, and my selfe wrote of the

of the Reign of King Charles.

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cular,
23. of November, that we were assured, not by the Conde of Olivares, onely in this Kings name, but severally, by all the Councellors, that a settled resolution was taken in Councill, on the 16. of November, that this King should procure his Majesties intestine satisfaction, and hereof the Cardinall Catala, and divers other Councellors that professed themselves particularly affected to the King and Prince's service, came to give Sir Walter Aston and my selfe the Parabein. The Conde of Olivares intreated us both, in this Kings name, to assure his Majesty thereof, upon our honours, and upon our lives if need were. And thus much was to have been delivered unto us in writing, before we would have passed to the Disposories, as will plainly appeare by this above mentioned dispatch, of the 23. of November. Besides, the Princesse had now made this businesse her owne, and had therein most earnestly moved the King her Brother, & written unto the Conde of Olivares, and had set her heart upon the making of her selfe gracefull, and welcom to the King and Kingdome, by overcoming this businesse. These are the words of Bristol's Letter, and these give me no small assurance of the integrity and good meaning of the Court of Spaine, as to that particular,
which

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Which being met, and the businesse propounded, it was entertained with an unanimous consent, and a motion made, that an Ambassador should be sent over to negotiate the Treaty.] I somewhat doubt of your intelligence in this relation, the Marriage of the Prince, containing such a Branch of the Royall prerogative, as King James was not likely to communicate with his Houses of Parliament. For when he was Petitioned by both Houses not long before, that for the avoiding of some dangers, which did seem to threaten the whole Kingdome, he would Marry the Prince to a Lady of the Protestant Religion; he entertained the motion with no small disdain, and checkt them in his answer, for intrenching on his just Prerogative. And though King Charles acquainted the two Houses of Parliament with his intent of Marrying the Princess Mary, to the Heire of Orange, yet we must look upon him at that time, as encumbered with the greatest difficulties, that ever any Prince lay under; one that had wholly lost himselfe on their Love and Courtesie, and therefore was to hold fair with them in the greatest matters. And yet he did not bend thus low, nor communicate the affaires unto them, till the Articles of the

Mary

of the Reign of King Charles.

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Marriage were in a manner concluded, as appeareth plainly by his Majesties Speech in the House of Lords, Fol. 213. But when it was required of him as a Duty, not an Act of Grace, in the fift of the nineteen Propositions which were sent to Yorke, that none of his Children should be Married without their consent; though he was then in such a necessitous condition, as few Princes ever were reduced to, yet would he by no meanes satisfie their demands therein.

In the style of the Court he went for Great Britains Solomon.] It cannot be denied, but that he was an Universall Scholar, as you tell us afterwards, the greatest Scholar (without doubt) for so great a King, that these last Ages of the world have presented to us; but that he was Great Britains Solomon, that is to say, either the wisest Man, or the wisest King of the British Nations, I am not Courtier enough to defend or say. It is true indeed, that he much pleased himselfe with boasting of his Kings craft, as he used to call it, but as Imbold a French Captain was wont to say, that he could never see where that great wit of the Florentines lay, which was so much talked of in the world; so I have heard many wise men say, that they

Ibid.

they could never finde what that Kingcraft was: It being no hard matter to prove, that in all publick Treaties and Negotiations, and many private Conferences and debates of Councell, he was out-witted, and made use of unto other mens ends, by almost all that undertook him. And one might say, (I feare too truly) that by putting off the Majesty belonging to a King of *England*, that so he might more liberally enjoy himselfe; neglecting the affaires of State, and cares of Government, to hunt after pleasures; deserting the imperiall City, to sport himselfe at *Roiston*, *Newmarket*, and such obscure places (which were to him as the Isle of *Capre* was to *Tiberius Caesar*) and finally by letting loose the Golden reins of Discipline, held by his Predecessors with so strict a hand; he opened the first gap unto those confusions, of which we have since found the miserable and wofull consequences. But I know not what temptation hath drawn this note from me, I goe on againe.

Fol. 5.

A stout adversary he was to the Armenians, and Semi-Pelagians, whom he called, as Prosper before him did, the Enemies of Gods grace.] In this short sentence there are many things to be considered. 1. What these

these *Arminians* were, which our *Author* speaks of. 2. Whether they were the *Enemies of Gods grace* or not? and 3. what the reason was why King *James* shewed himselfe so great an adversary to them, as you say he did.

And first for the *Arminians* (as you call them) they were a branch of the Sect of *Calvin*, to whose Discipline in all particulars they conformed themselves, and to his *Doctrines* in the most, differing only in the matter of *Predestination*, & the points subordinate; but managing those differences with a better temper, then their *Opposites* did. Nor were these differences onely controverted in the School of *Calvin*, but had been many times disputed with great heat and passion, betwixt the *Franciscans* and *Dominicans* in the Church of *Rome*. The rigid and moderate *Lutherans* in the Churches *Protestant*. The rigid *Lutherans*, who looke on *Flacius Illyricus* (a man of a turbulent and fiery nature) as their Head and Captaine, and with them the *Dominicans* (or black Friars) goe the same way as *Calvin* and his followers doe; and these proceed upon the authority of Saint *Augustine*, whose zeale against the *Pelagian Heresies* transported him into such

such inconvenient expressions, as the wise men may fall into on the like occasions. The moderate *Lutherans*, of which *Melancthon*, a sober and right learned man (and therefore not unfitly called the *Phoenix* of Germany) was the principal leader, and with them the *Franciscan Friars* (and of late the *Jesuits*) goe the same way which the *Arminians* since have followed; grounding themselves upon the constant current of the antient *Fathers*, who lived and flourished, *ante mala certamina Pelagiana*, before the authority of Saint *Augustine*, in canvassing and confuting the *Pelagian* Heresies, carried all before it. For Doctor *James Hermin*, the University Reader, in the University of *Leidon*, preferring the Doctrine of *Melancthon* in these points, before that of *Calvin*, not onely maintained it in the *Schools*, but preached it also in the *Pulpit* as occasion was; not that he was the first of the School of *Calvin*, that professed this way, but that he was of better parts, and of greater Learning, then any who before had undertook it. And being he was a man of such parts and Learning, and that his doctrine was conceived to be more *Rationall* in it selfe, farre more agreeable unto the *Justice* and *Mercy* of Almighty God,

God, and more conducing unto Piety, then that of the *Rigid Calvinist* was esteemed to be, it quickly found great multitudes of followers in the *Belgique Churches*; and these, not onely of the *Vulgar*, but the *Learned sort*, of which last ranke I may reckon *Episcopus*, *Corvinus*, *Bertius*, *Tilenus*, *John Gerard*, *Vossius*, (for his abilities in Learning, made a *Prebend of Canterbury*) and that great magazine both of *Divine* and *Humane literature*, *Hugo Grotius*. These are the men who commonly are nick-named *Arminians*, and these the *rigid Calvinists* have indeavoured to oppose, to the publick hatred, by fastning on them many horrid *Blasphemies*, and grosse absurdities, which cannot properly and of right be charged upon them. For in the continuation of the *History of the Netherlands*, writ by one *Grosse* (as I remember) a fellow of no Parts, or Judgment, and so more apt to be abused with a false report: It is affirmed that there was a *Synod* called at *Dort*, to suppress the *Arminians*, and that the said *Arminians* held amongst other *Heresies*; first, that *God* was the *Author of Sinne*, and secondly, that he *Created* the far greatest part of *mankinde* onely, of purpose

for to damn them, with severall others of that kinde; which every man of Reading knowes, not onely to be the Consequence and Results of Calvin's Doctrine, but to be positively maintained and taught by some of his followers. By these, and such like subtile and malicious practises, they indeavoured to expose their adversaries to the publick hatred, and make them odious with the people; till at the last, those poore men might have said most justly, as once the *Primitive Christians* did, under the burden of the like Calumnies and Imputations, *Condemnati sumus quia nominamur, non quia convincimur*, as *Tertullian* hath it; the name of an *Arminian* carried a Condemnation in it selfe, without any conviction:

2. But if they were the Enemies of the Grace of God, and that King James so conceived of them, they did undoubtedly deserve all this and more; but certainly whatsoever King James might please to call them, I am sure he had little reason for it, those whom you call *Arminians*, speaking as Honourably and Religiously of the grace of God, as the most Orthodox writers in the *Primitive* times. It is true indeed, that the *Pelagians* did ascribe so much to the powers of Nature, in the

the Conversion of a Sinner, and the whole worke of Regeneration, *ut gratiam Dei necessariam non putarent*, that they thought the Grace of God to be together unnecessary (as *Lyrinensis* tells us of them.) If the *Arminians* (as you call them) were of this opinion, they were the Enemies of Gods Grace, there is no doubt of that. But looke into the five Articles which they exhibited in their Remonstrance to the States of Holland, and after to the Assembly at Dort, and you will finde the contrary; it being there affirmed expressly in these following words, *Gratiam Dei Statuimus esse principium, progressum & complementum omnis boni; adeo ut ne ipse quidem regenitus absq; precedente sive preveniente ista, excitante, prosequente, & cooperante gratiâ, bonum cogitare velle, aut peragere possit, ulliusve ad malum tentationibus resistere: Ita ut bona opera actionesq; quas quis cogitando potest adsequi gratia Dei in Christo adscribenda sint.* We teach say they, that the Grace of God is the beginning and promotion and accomplishment of every thing that is good in us; insomuch that the Regenerate man can neither thinke, will, nor doe any thing that is good without this grace preventing, Cooperating, and Assisting, and consequently that all good works which any

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man in his life can attaine unto, are to be attributed and Ascribed to the Grace of God. Call you those men the Enemies of Gods grace, as you seem to make them? I hope Saint Augustine was no enemy of the grace of God, in giving us this Golden sentence; *sine gratia Dei praeveniente ut velimus, & subsequente ne frustra velimus, ad pietatis opera nil valemus*; that is to say, Without the grace of God preventing, that we may will the things which are good, and following or assisting that we doe not will them to no purpose, we are not able to doe any thing in the works of piety. Say not these men the same as S. Austin doth? and saying the same, why are they called the Enemies of the Grace of God, whilst he is honoured with the title of the Champion and Defender of it? But some will say that they ascribe more unto the freedome of the will, then may stand with Grace, and consequently overthrow all the former building. If so, they are more cunning then I thought they were. But these plain dealing men doe assure me otherwise, for thus they say, (in the same Articles as before) *Homo salvificam fidem non habet à se, neque ex liberi sui arbitrii viribus, sed necesse est ut ab eo in Christo, per spiritum ipsius sanctum regeneretur at-*
que

que renovetur intellectu, affectibus, voluntate, omnibusq; viribus, ut salutaria bona recte possit intelligere, meditari, velle, atq; perficere; That is to say, A man hath not saving Faith in, and of himselfe, nor by the strength of his owne Free will, but it is necessary that he be regenerate, and renewed in Christ by the Holy Ghost, in his understanding, affections, will, and all the other powers of Nature, that so he may both understand, meditate, will, and bring to passe the things which appertain to his Salvation. I grant indeed, that they ascribe somewhat more to the will of Man, then the rigid sort of Lutherans and Calvinians doe, who will have a man drawn forcibly and Irresistably, with the cords of Grace, *velut in animalon quiddam*, like a senselesse stock, without contributing any thing to his owne eternity; but they ascribe no more unto it, then what may stand both with the Grace and Justice of Almighty God, according to that Divine saying of Saint Augustine, *viz. Si non est Gratia Dei quomodo salvat mundum? si non est liberum arbitrium, quomodo judicat mundum?* were it not for the Grace of God, no man could be saved, and were there not a Freedom of Will in Man, no man with justice could be damned. If they

that speak so much of the Grace of God, and so little of the Will of Man in the workings of it, must notwithstanding be the Enemies of the Grace of God; I fear the Church of *England* will be found in a sorry case, whose Doctrine in these points is the very same, and thus delivered in the tenth Article of her *Confession*, viz. The condition of *Man* after the Fall of *Adam*, is such, that he cannot turne and prepare himselfe by his owne naturall strength, and good Workes to Faith and calling upon God: wherefore we have no power to doe good Workes pleasant and acceptable to God, without the Grace of God by *Christ* preventing us, that we may have a good Will, and Working with us, when we have that good will. *Saint Augustine*, and the Church of *England*, and all Orthodox Christians are as much Enemies of Gods Grace (for ought I can see, as any of those poore despised ones, whom you call *Arminians*.

3. But then it may be justly asked, what moved King *James* to be so stout an adversary of theirs, as you say he was? and for that the reasons may be many, for 1. he had his education in the Kirk of *Scotland*, where all the *Heterodoxies* of *Calvin* were received as Gospel, and therefore

therefore could not sedainly cast off those opinions which he had sucked in as it were with his nurses milk. 2. He was much governed at that time by Doctor *Montague* then Bishop of *Winchester*, and Dean of his Majesties Chappell Royall, who having been a great stickler in these Predestinarian Controversies, when he lived in *Cambridge*, thought himselfe bound to beat down all opponents by the Kings Authority, which he could not overbear by the strength of Argument; and finding the Kings will inclineable to his owne perswasions in these points, put him upon many harsh, and severe expressions against these poor men, especially in his Declaration against *Vorstius*, where he strikes most at them. But thirdly, the greatest motive with K. *James*, was, Reason of State, the *Arminians* (as you call them) being united into a party, under the countenance & command of *Io: Olden Barnevelt* and by him used to undermine the power of *Maurice*, then Prince of *Orange*; who as he was a great Patron of the *Rigid Calvinians*, so was he to that King a most dear confederate. Besides, the King considered this division in the *Belgick Provinces*, as a matter of most dangerous nature, and utterly destructive of that

peace, unity, and concord which was to
 be the greatest preservation of the *States*
United : whom therefore he exhorteth
 in the same Declaration to take heed of
 such infected persons, their own *Countray-*
men being already divided into *Factions*
 upon this occasion, which was a matter (as
 he saith) so opposite to unity (which was in-
 deed the onely prop and safety of their *State*
 next under God) as of necessity it must by
 little and little bring them to utter ruine, if
 wisely & in time they did not provide against
 it, So that *K. James* considering the present
 breach as tending to the utter ruine of
 those *Estates*, and more particularly of
 the Prince of *Orange*, his most dear *Allie*,
 he thought it no small piece of *King-craft*
 to contribute toward the suppression of
 the weaker party ; not onely by blasting
 them in the said *Declaration* with re-
 proachfull names, and sending such of his
Divines to the Assembly at *Dort*, as he
 was sure wou'd be sufficiently active in
 their *Condemnation* ; which being done,
 his own turn served therein to his full con-
 tentment, and Bishop *Montague* his great
Directour in those businesses being also
 dead ; he began to shew himselfe more
 favourable unto their opinions than be-
 fore he did : especially on the coming out
 of

of the Answer to the *Romish Gagger*, composed by another *Montague* then *Prebend of Windsor*, and afterwards *L. Bishop of Chichester*, and at last of *Norwich*, (a man of lesse Courtship, but of farre more Learning than the other was) whose judgment in those points he liked very well, as being more consonant to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, and more agreeable to the Tenor of approved Antiquity. But I have stayd too long on this *Observation*. I must now go forwards.

The Kings Corps on the 4th of May was Fol. 6. conveyed to Westminster, and there inhumed, &c.] Our Author tells us in the end of his Preface what an especiall care he hath of his *Temporalities* (as his owne word is) in assigning unto every action its own proper time, and yet he fails us here in the first beginning: For, neither was the body of that King interr'd on the 4th of May, nor the Letters of procuration kept undelivered till the 8th (as he after tells us) nor the Marriage celebrated after the Funerall of the King, as is there declared: though possibly in the intention of King Charles (for the reasons there delivered) it had been so resolved on at the first designation of those Royall pomps: For, upon Sunday *May the 1st*, the Marriage was

was celebrated at the Church *Nafre* *Dance* in *Paris*; on Tuesday *May* the 3^d, the news thereof came unto the Court, and was welcomed the same night with Bells and Bone-fires in all parts of *London*; on Saturday *May* the 7th, was King *James* interred, and on Sunday morning *May* the 8th, there came an Order from the Lords of the Council to the Preachers appointed for *St. Pauls* Crosse (as I have heard him say more than once or twice) requiring him that in his Prayer before the Sermon he should not pray for the Queen by the name of *Henrietta Maria*, but by the name of Queen *Mary* ouely. And yet it is true too which he after telleth us, that is to say, That the Marriage was celebrated in *Paris* on the 11th of *May*. But then he is to understand that this was on the 11th of *May* in the French Accompt, which following the Gregorian Calender anticipates ten daies in every Month; that being the 11th day of the Moneth to them, in the new Style (or *stylo novo*, as they phrase it) which is the first day of the Moneth in the old Style and Accompt of *England*.

Ibid.

He sent Letters of Prolucution to the Duke of Chevereux.] If it be asked why the King when he was onely Prince of *Wales*

Wales should look no lower for a Proxy than the King of *Spaine*, and being now the mighty Monarch of Great Britaine, should pitch upon so mean a Prince as the Duke of *Chevereux*; it may be answered that the Duke of *Chevereux* was a Prince of the house of *Guise*, from which his Majesty was extracted: *Mary* of *Lorraine* Daughter to *Claud* of *Lorraine* the first Duke of *Guise*, being Wife to *James* the first of *Scotland*, Grandmother unto *James* the sixth, and consequently great Grandmother to King *Charles* himself.

From *Canterbury* his Majesty took Coach Fol. 7. for *Whitehall*, where the third after his arrivall, &c.] If our Author meaneth by this, that his Majesty went in Coach but some part of the way onely, he should then have said so; but if he mean that he went so all the way to *Whitehall*, he is very much out; their Majesties passing in Coach no further than *Gravesend*, and from thence in their Royall Barge by water unto his Palace at *Whitehall*, accompanied or met by all the Barges, Boats, and Wherries which could be found upon the *Thames*; the Author of these Observations beholding from *Tower Wharfe* that magnificent passage.

For as man is Without a female Consort, Fol. 9.
so

so is a King without his Supreme Councell a halfe formed sterill thing.] Our Author in these words, and the rest that follow, maintains a Paradox most dangerous to supreme Authority in making Parliaments so necessary to all Acts of State, as if that Kings, or they that have the Supreme power could doe nothing lawfully but what they doe with their assistance, and by their consent; which were it so, a Parliament must be *Co-ordinate* to Kings (or such as have the power of Kings) not *subordinate* to them. Nor need the Members write themselves by the name of His Majesties most loyall and most humble Subj^{ts}, but by the name of Partners and Associates in the Royall power: which doctrine, of what ill consequence it may be in Monarchical Government, I leave Counsellors of State to consider of.

Fol. II.

His speech being ended, the King vailed his Crown, a thing rare in any of his Predecessours.] Our Chroniclers tell us of King James, that at his first coming to the Crown of England, he used to go often to the Tower to see the Lyon (the reputed King of Beasts) baited sometimes by Dogs, and sometimes by Horses; which I could never read without some regret, the baiting of the King of Beasts seeming

seeming to me an ill presage of those many baitings which he (a King of Men) found afterwards at the hands of his Subjects. And Mr. *Prin* tells us of *K. Charles*, that on the day of his Coronation he was cloathed in white, contrary to the custome of his Predecessours, who were on that day clad in purple. White is we know the colour of the *saints*, who are represented to us in White robes by *S. John* in the *Revelation*: And Purple is we know the Imperiall and Regall colour, so proper heretofore unto Kings and Emperours, that many of the *Constantinoplitan* Emperours were called *Porphirogeniti*, because at their first comming into the world they were wrapt in purple. And this I look upon as an ill presage, that the King laying aside his Purple, the Robe of Majesty, should cloathe himselfe in White, the Robe of Innocence; as if thereby it were fore-signified that he should deuest himselfe of that Regall Majesty which might and would have kept him safe from affront and scorn, to relie wholly on the innocence of a vertuous life, which did expose him finally to calamitous ruine. But as all ill presages, none like that which our Author speaks of, I mean the *veiling of his Crown* to this his first Parliament; which I consider

consider of the Introduction to those many *veilings of the Crown* in all the Parliaments that followed : For, first he *vailed his Crown* to this, in leaving *Mountague* in their hands, and his Bond uncanceled, (as you tell us after *Fol. 12.*) notwithstanding that he was his sworn Chaplain and domestick Servant, and that too in a businesse of such a nature as former Parliaments used not to take cognizance of ; he *vailed his Crown* unto the next, when he permitted them (as you tell us, *Fol. 25.*) to search his Signet Office, and to examine the Letters of his Secretaries of State, leaving him nothing free from their discovery ; a thing not formerly practised : he *vailed his Crown* unto the third, first in the way of preparation to it, releasing all the Gentlemen whom he had imprisoned, for their refusall of the Loane, many of which being elected Members of the following Parliament, brought with them both a power and will to avenge themselves by the restraint of His Prerogative within narrower bounds ; next in the prosecution of it, when hearing that the Parliament had granted him some Subsidies, not a man dissenting, he could not restrain himselfe from weeping, (which tendernesse of his was made good use of to his

no small damage) adding withall, and bidding his Secretarie tell them (as our Authour tells us, Fol. 77.) he would deny them nothing of their Liberties which any of his Predecessours had granted to them; and finally in the close thereof when He enacted the *Petition of Right*, and made it passe into a Law, of which our Authour tells us, Fol. 87. That never Arbitrary power since Monarchy first founded did so submittre fasces, so vaile its Scepter; never did the prerogative descend so much from perch to popular lure, as by that Concession. He vailed his Crowne unto all three, by suffering the House of Commons to set up a Committee for Religion, to question *Manwaring*, *Sibthorp*, and divers others for Doctrinall matters, which if erroneous were more proper to be censured in the High Commission or the Convocation, to which the cognizance of such Causes doth of right belong; and not unto a Consistory of Lay Elders, which though it might consist of the wisest men, yet were they for the most part none of the greatest Clerks. He vailed his Crown also unto the Scots, when having power to bring them under his command, he yeilded to the Pacification at *Barwicke*, not more unto his own dishonour than to their advantage; which

which drew him on first to abolish the Episcopa^l Government (the greatest prop of his Estate) in the Church of Scotland, and after at their instance to call a Parliament in England, and by the terrout of their Armes first to give way that the Lords of the Privie Council (in reference to the Tryall of the Earle of Strafford) should be examined upon oath, in points debated and resolved on at the Councill Table; that being done, to yeild to a *Triennial Parliament*, to be called (upon his default) by *Sheriffs* and *Constables*, and finally to perpetuate that Parliament to his owne destruction. What other *vailings of the Crown* followed upon this, we shall hereafter see upon another occasion.

Ibid.

In this Session of Parliament was Mr. Mountague questioned for publishing certain Bookes prejudiciall to the Protestant cause, &c.] Somewhat of Mr. Mountague we have seen before, and shall now adde, that his Books contained nothing prejudiciall to the Protestant Cause, or to the established Doctrine of the Church of England, but onely to the Calvinisticall Sect who had imposed their *Heterodoxies* upon credulous men for the received Doctrines of the Church. This Mr. Mountague disavowed in his *Answer to the Romish*

Romish Gagger, and severing private mens Opinions from the Churches Doctrines to be defended by their own Patrons and abettors; which so offended that whole Party that an *Information* was intended and prepared against him, which being made knowne unto King James, he did not onely give him his discharge and *quiescat*, and grant him leave (in regard the Accusation was divulged, and the clamour violent) humbly to appeale from his Defamers unto His most sacred cognizance in publique, and to represent his just defence against their slanders and false surmises unto the world, but also to give expresse order unto Doctor White then Deane of Carlisle (cried up, when Lecturer of St. Pauls, for the stoutest Champion of this Church against those of Rome) for the authorizing and publishing thereof, which was done accordingly. So he in his Epistle Dedicatory to the late King Charles. These are the Books, *The Answer to the Romish Gagger*: and, the Defence thereof, called, *Appello Casarem*: so prejudiciall (as you say) to the Protestant Cause, and therefore fit to be insilled on by the House of Parliament.

The cause of that restraint (viz: the grant *Fol. 12.*
of Tonnage and Poundage for no more than

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one

one yeare) being a designe to reduce it to the rate settled in *Queen Maryes daies.*] And had they brought it unto that, their Grant would have been like the Apples of *Sodom*, goodly and beautifull to the eye, *sed levi tactu pressa in vagum pulverem fatiscunt* (saith the old Geographer) but never so gently handled fell to dust and ashes ; a nut without a kernil, and a painted nothing. And yet they might have made the King some faire amends, if they had brought the Subsidies to the same rate also, or to the rates they were at, in her Fathers daies, when as one single Subsidie of foure shillings in the pound was estimated to amount to eight hundred thousand pounds of good English money, which is as much as eight whole Subsidies did amount to when King *Charles* came unto the Crown.

Ibid.

The Divinity Schoole was appointed for the *House of Commons.*] And questionlesse this giving up of the Divinity School unto the use of the House of Commons, and placing the Speaker in or neer the Chaire in which the Kings Professour for Divinity did usually reade his Publick Lectures, and moderate in all Publick Disputations, first put them into a conceit that the determining in all points and Controversies
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in Divinity did belong to them : As *Vibius Rufus* in the story, having married *Tully's* Widow, and bought *Casars* Chair, conceived that he was then in a way to gain the Eloquence of the one, and the Power of the other : For, after this we find no Parliament without a Committee for Religion, and no Committee for Religion but what did think it self sufficiently instructed to manage the greatest Controversies of Divinity which were brought before them : with what successe to the Religion here by Law established we now see too clearly.

Most of the Voters of this Remonstrance Fol. 15.
flew high, and impetuously prest in upon the Duke.] And this makes good that saying of the wise Historian, *Quam breves & infauſti Romani populi amores*, that the Darlings and Affections of the Common People (take which sense you will) are of short continuance. It was not long since that this very man was cried up in Parliament for the great ornament and honour of the *English* Nation, the chief preserver of this Kingdome from the *Spanish* practices, no attribute sufficient to set forth his praises, no honour large enough to requite his merits. Now on the sodain he is become the subject of a popular hatred,

tossed from one Parliament to another like the Ball of Fortune, many times struck into the *hazard*, and at last quite tossed out of the Court, and tumbled into his grave by a desperate Ruffion. But as I have been told by some intelligent man, this sodain alteration came another way, and not from any premeditated purpose in the Parliament men, who after voted this Remonstrance: For having an ill eye to the B shop of *Lincolne*, and a designe to make him lighter by the Seal; the B shop to prevent the danger, and divert the humour, proposed the Duke of *Buckingham* unto some leading men amongst them as the fitter game, offering to furnish them with matter, and to make good that matter by sufficient evidence; which coming not long after to the ears of the Duke, to whom he had done many ill offices when he was in *Spaine*, he procured the Seale to be taken from him; of which more anon.

Fol. 17. *And who (i.e. Sir Robert Mansell) had an unquestionable right to the chief conduct of this Enterprize upon the Dukes default.* I believe not so. For though Sir Robert were *Vice-Admirall*, and had the subordinate power to the Duke of *Buckingham* in all things which concerned that Office,

fice, yet in the *present Enterprize* he had not any thing at all to pretend unto: the *Lord Admirall* himselfe not acting in occasionall services or great employments at the Sea in regard of his Office, but as he is impowred by special Commission from the *King*, which he may grant to any other as He sees cause for it. A thing so obvious in the course of our *English* stories, that I need bring no examples of it to confirm this truth.

And the first thing resolved upon was, Fol. 20.
His solemne Initiation into Regality, and setting the Crown upon His head.] As solemne as the King esteemed it, yet our Anthour as it seems thinks more poorly of it: For, he not onely censureth it for a vanity, though a *serious vanity*, but thinks that Kings are idle in it, though idle to some better purpose than in Masking and Dances. Are not all Christian Kings with whom the Rites of Coronation are accounted sacred, much concerned in this, and the Scriptures more? are not the Ceremonies of Anointing and Crowning Kings of great antiquity in all Nations throughout the World directed by the holy Spirit in the Book of God? exemplified in *Saul, David, Solomon*, but most particularly in the inauguration of *Jehoaſh*,
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the 2 of *Kings* 11. 12. where it is said that *Jehojada* the high Priest brought forth the Kings son and put the Crown upon him, and gave him the testimonies, and they made him King and anointed him, and clapt their hands, and said, GOD SAVE THE KING. Was this a Pageant think we of the high Priests making to delight the Souldiery, or a solemnity and ceremony of Gods own appointing to distinguish his Vicegerents from inferiour persons, and strike a veneration towards them in all sorts of men whether Priests or people? He that shall look upon the Coronation of our Saviour, the placing of the Crown upon his head, and putting the Scepter into his hands, and bowing of the knee before him, with this acclamation, *Haile King of the Jewes*, will therein finde a pattern for the *Inauguration* of a Christian King: In which there is not any thing of a *serious vanity*, (as our Authour calls it) but a grave, pious, and religious conformity to the Investiture and Coronation of their supreme Lord. I could enlarge upon this subject, but that I think better of our Authour than some of our Historians doe of *Henry Duke of Buckingham*, of whom it is observed that at the Coronation of King *Richard the third*, he cast many

many a squint eye upon the Crown, as if he thought it might be set on a fitter head. But our Authour passeth from the Coronation to the following Parliament. In order whereunto, he tells us that

The Lord Keeper Williams was displaced, and his place was disposed of to Sir Thomas Coventrie.] Our Authour is here out again in his *Temporalities*, the Lord Keeper *Williams* not being displaced betwixt the Coronation and the following Parliament but some months before : For the Great Seale was taken from him in *October* three moneths and more before the day of the Coronation ; Sir *Thomas Coventrie* sitting in Chancery as Lord Keeper, both in the *Michaelmas* Term at *Reading*, and in the *Candlemas* Term at *Westminster*. The like mistake he gives us in his *Temporalities* touching Bishop *Land*, whom he makes Bishop of *Bathe and Wells*, at the time of his affixing in the Coronation ; whereas indeed he was at that time Bishop of *St. Davids* onely, and not translated to the Bishoprick of *Bathe and Wells* till *September* following. And that I may not trouble my self with the like observation at another time (though there be many more of this nature to be troubled with) I shall crave

Ibid.

leave to step forth to *Fol. 96.* where it is said, That the *Articles of Lambeth* were so well approved of by King James, as he first sent them over to the Synod of Dort as the Doctrine of our Church, where they were asserted by the suffrage of our British Divines; and after that commended them to the Convocation held in Ireland to be asserted amongst the Articles of Religion established Anno 1615. and accordingly they were] This is a very strange *Hysteron Proteron*, setting the cart before the horse, as we use to say. For, certainly the *Articles of Lambeth* being made part of the Confession of the Church of Ireland, Anno 1615. as indeed they were, could not before that time be sent to the Assembly, or Synod at *Dort*, which was not held till three years after, Anno 1618. And this I take to be from what more than a superannuating as to call it in his Temporalities, though he be confident in his Preface that he stands secure not onely from substantiall falsehoods, but even from circumstantiall also, in assigning all both things and actions their proper times. How ill this confidence is grounded we have seen in part, and shall see more hereof hereafter, as occasion serveth,

Who loved the Bishop (if Fame belies her Fol.21. not) better than was fit.] I think our Author with more prudence might have spared this Note, especially having *Fame* onely for the ground thereof, which is so infamous an Historian (as a learned Gentleman hath well noted) that no wise man would build on the credit of it. If *Fames* and *Libels* should once passe for Histori- call truths, few Kings, or Favorites, or Ministers of great affairs (or indeed who else) would goe with honour to their graves, or live with glory in the mouthes of the next Posterities. *Wilson*, a creature and dependent of the Earle of *Warwicke*, whom you accuse elsewhere of partiality in the businesse of the Earl of *Essex*, leaves the like stain upon his Lady; but out of zeale to the good cause indeavourth to acquit the Bishop from the guilt thereof, by saying, that he was *Eunuchus ab utero*, an Eunuch from his Mothers wombe, which all that knew that Prelate most extremely laughed at. And what had he for his authority but *Fame* and *Libels*, purposely scattered and divulged amongst the people to disgrace that Family, by the malicious Contrivers of the Publique ruine. The honour of Ladies in the generall is a tender point, not easily repaired
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if wronged, and therefore to be left untouched, or most gently handled. For which cause possibly S.^{Paul}^{ster} adviseth that we give honour to the Woman as the Weaker vessell, and weaker vessels if once crackt by ungentle handling, are either utterly broken: or not easily mended. And for this Lady in particular whom these two Authours tosse on the breath of Fame, I never heard but that she was a person of great parts and honour, and one that never did ill offices to any man during the time of her great power and favour both with King and Queen. So that we may affirme of her, as the Historian doth of *Livia* that great Emperours Wife, *Potentiam ejus nemo sensit, nisi aut levatione periculi, aut accessione dignitatis*, that nobody ever found her power, but either in lessening his deserved punishments, or adding some respects to him for his well-deservings.

Fol. 29.

Nor seemed the question in the sense of many, Which was the Traytour, but which was the most.] That is to say, whether the Duke of Buckingham, or the Earle of Bristol were the greater Traytour, though it appeareth not (for any thing which our Authour tells us) that any treason was proved against either of them: For

had the Duke proved his Charge of Treason against the Earle, he had both power and opportunity enough to have wrought his ruine; or had the Earle proved the like Charge against the Duke, the Commons needed not have troubled themselves with a new *Impeachment*, containing nothing but Encroachments on the Royall favour, and some miscarriages which at another time, and in another man would have been connived at. Our Author gives us a full Copie of the Earles Charge against the Duke; but of the Dukes Charge against the Earle (whether out of Partiality or want of Information) he affords us nothing. I shall therefore adde so much in the way of supplement, as to subjoyn three or four of the principall Articles of the Charge against him, leaving them here as they were left in the House of Peers, without any further prosecution than the Narrative onely. It was then charged upon the Earle,

I. *That having certified King James by several Letters out of Spain that the Treaty of the Match was in a very good forwardnesse, the Prince at his arrivall there, found it nothing so, there being little done in relation to it.*

2. *That*

Observations on the History

2. That in the time of his negotiation by Letters unto his late Majesty and otherwise, he counselled and perswaded the said Kings Majesty to set at liberty the Jesuits and Priests of the Romish Religion, and to grant and allow unto the Papists and Professours of the same, a free toleration, and silencing the Laws made and standing in force against them:

3. That at the Princes coming into Spain, the said Earle of Bristol cunningly, falsely, and traiterously moved and perswaded the Prince (being then in the power of a forreign King of the Romish Religion) to change his Religion, and used many dangerous and subtile insinuations to that effect.

4. That in pursuance of the said trayterous designe, he used these words unto the Prince, That the State of Eng'land did never any great thing, but when they were under the obedience of the Pope of Rome, and that it was impossible they should doe anything of note otherwise.

5. That a Proposition being made by the King of Spaine touching the Palatinate, which was, That the eldest Son of the Prince Palatine should marry with the Emperours Daughter, but must be bred up in the Emperours Court: the said Earle delivered his opinion, That he thought it unreasonable.

And

And when the danger was presented, in regard of the alteration of the young Princes Religion, which must needs follow thereupon, the said Earle answered, That *Without some great action the peace of Christendome would never be had.*

Comparing these with those that were charged upon the Duke, it will appeare that they both concurred in one designe, which was to render each other suspected in matter of Loyalty & Religion, though by so doing they made good sport to all their Enemies and the world to boot; *Many good men (as our Authour calls them) being passing jocund at the contest.*

But it was resolved by the Judges, that by their Restraint (i. e. the Restraint of Sir Dudley Diggs, and Sir John Eliot) no reason being given to the House for it, the whole House was Arrested.] The Judges were wise men, and would not strive against the stream (as the saying is) for otherwise I can see no reason of their resolute precedents to the contrary, there are many in the times foregoing, of which I shall instance in two onely, and those two in a Parliament held in the 35 year of the so much celebrated Reigne of Queen Elizabeth, The first is this, Mr. Peter Wentworth and Sir Henry Bromely delivered a Petition
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tion to the Lord Keeper, desiring the Lords of the Upper House to be Suppliants with them of the Lower House unto Her Majesty for entailing of the succession of the Crown, whereof a Bill was ready drawn by them. Her Majesty was highly displeased herewith as contrary to Her former strait command, and charged the Councell to call the parties before them. Sir *Thomas Henage* (being then Vice-Chamberlaine and one of the Lords of the Privie Councell) sent for them, and after speech with them, commanded them to forbear the Parliament, and not to go out of their severall lodgings: After they were called before the *Lord Treasurer*, the *Lord Buckhurst*, and Sir *Thomas Henage*; Mr. *Wentworth* was committed by them to the Tower, Sir *Henry Bromely* with Master *Richard Stevens*, to whom Sir *Henry Bromely* had imparted the matter, were sent to the Fleet, as also Mr. *Welch* the other Knight for *Worcestershire*. In the same Parliament one Mr. *Morrice* Attorney of the Dutchy of *Lancaster* (who is to be my second instance) moved against the hard courses of the Bishops, Ordinaries, and other Ecclesiasticall Judges in their Courts, used towards sundry learned and godly Ministers and

and Preachers, and spake against *subseription*, and *oathes*; and offered a Bill to be read against Imprisonment for refusall of such Oathes: which comming to the Queens knowledge, and Mr. *Coke* (afterwards Sir *Edward Coke*) then Speaker of the House of Commons, being sent for and admonished not to admit of that or any such Bills if they should be offered, the said Mr. *Morrice* (as I have been credibly informed) was taken out of the House by Sergeant at the Armes, but howsoever, sure I am, that he was committed unto Prison for the said Attempt. And when it was moved in the House by one Mr. *Wroth*, that they might be humble Suitors to Her Majesty, that she would be pleased to set at liberty those Members of the House that were restrained. To this it was answered by all the Privy Counsellours which were then Members of the House, that Her Majesty had committed them for causes best known to Her selfe, and to presse Her Highnesse with this suit would but hinder them whose good is sought: That the House must not call the Queen to accompt for what she doth of her Royall Authority, That the causes for which they were restrained, may be high and dangerous, That Her Majesty liketh

liketh no such questions, neither doth it become the House to search into such matters. Whereupon the House desisted from interposing any further in their behalf. And thus we see that no fewer than five *Members* (that is to say, *Wentworth, Welch, Bromely, Stevens, and Morrice*) cut off at one time from the House of Commons without any remedy, or any Declaration of the Judges, that any such Arrest as is here pretended was layd upon the House by their Imprisonment. So resolute was Queen *Elizabeth* to maintain Her Prerogative; though King *Charles* yielded to the times and released His Prisoners upon this Declaration of the Judges, and a Remonstrance of the Commons in pursuance of it; which was another *vailing of his Crowne*, before not mentioned, because reserved unto this place.

Ibid.

For the Lords feared an antient Order, that no Lords created sedente Parlamento, should have voice during that Session, &c. Upon which, their suffrage was excluded.] The Lords had been to blame indeed, if when the Judges had declared for Law in favour of the House of Commons, they could not make an Order to serve themselves both *antient alike*. and of like Authority

thority, because both contrary to the practice and proceedings in foregoing Parliaments. But whereas our Authour writes, that upon the finding out of this Order, the *suffrage* of the new Lords (that is to say, *Kimbelton, Imbercourt, and Tregote*) was excluded for this Session: I somewhat doubt his intelligence in that particular, and that I doe for these two Reasons, First, because in the long Parliament which began in *Novemb. An. 1640.* when the prevailing Parties in both Houses were better backed than they were at this present; the Lords *Seymour, Littleton, and Capell*, created *sedente Parlamento*, and the Lords *Digby, Rich, and Howard* of *Charleton* called to the House of *Peers* by especial Writ were all admitted to their *Votes* in that Session of Parliament without any dispute. And secondly, whereas it was offered to the King (being then in a farre lower condition than He was at this present) in the last of the *Nineteen Propositions* which were sent to *Yorke*, That His Majestie would be graciously pleased to passe a Bill for restraining *Peers* made hereafter, from sitting or voting in Parliament, unlessse they were admitted thereunto with the consent of both Houses of Parliament;

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ment ; the King did absolutely refuse to assent unto it ; as appeareth clearly by his Answer unto those demands.

Ibid.

The affection of the Peers so elevated him, that he received the Attorneys Charge with such an undaunted spirit, and returned so home an Answer as the House was amply satisfied with it.] In all this there was nothing strange, that either the Earle of Bristol should receive the Attorneys Charge with such an undaunted courage (as you say he did) being so backed and elevated by the affection of the House of Peers, as you say he was ; or that the House should be so amply satisfied with his Answer, to whom they had before shewed so great affections. It was not the Answer but the Person which prevailed most with them ; as on the other side in the businesse of the Duke of Buckingham, the Answer fared the worse for the Persons sake, of whom you tell us in this place, *That the ill opinion which the Peers had of him, did as much depress him, as it did elevate the other.* For though the Duke his Answer to his Impeachment so contrived and inlaid with modesty and humility that it was like to have a powerfull influence towards the conversion of many, (as our Authour tells us, Fol. 53.) yet was it so farre from giving any (and much

much lesse ample) satisfaction, as *Bristols* did, that it became a new grievance to his *Adversaries*, who thereupon resolved on the prosecution, for feare it might be thought that themselves were worsted, if the poor Gentleman should have made but a saving game of it. So true is that of *Velleius Paterculus*, saying, *Familiares est hominibus, invidiam non ad causas sed ad voluntatem personarum dirigere*, that is to say, that it is usuall with most men to govern themselves in matters of this invidious nature, not by the merits of the cause, but by the intercesse of their own passions, and the respect or disrespect which they bear the persons.

But all would not smooth the asperity of Fol. 64. this illegall Tax, &c.] The money which was then required of the Subject, was not imposed on them in the way of a Tax, (if I remember it aright) but required of them as a Loane, and that too in a way which might seem to have some Loyalty in it: For whereas the Parliament had passed a Bill of Subsidies, and that the said Parliament was dissolved before the Bill passed into an Act; His Majesty was advised that He had good grounds to require those Subsidies of the Subject, which the House of Commons in their names

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had assented to ; and yet not to require them by the name of Subsidies, but onely in the way of Loane, till the next Parliament should enable Him to make payment of it, or to confirm His Levying of those moneys by a subsequent Act. But this devise, though it brought in good sums of *mony* for the present, yet by the *Articles* of some men, who were resolved, That the King should have no other assistance towards the maintenance of His *Wars* than what He could procure by His compliance with His Houses of Parliament; it brought forth those effects which our Authour speaks of. So miserable was the Kings condition at this time, that having formerly been made the Instrument to break off all Treaties with *Spaine*, and declare a Warre against that King, at the earnest solicitation of the House of Commons, He was so wilfully deserted (I dare not say betrayed) by those that engaged Him in it.

Fol. 69. *Where for three daies all was so calme on both sides as if they had sworn a Truce, &c.]* This was the first great error in the Enterprize of the *Isle of Rhe* : And the second was as bad as this, *viz:* their not taking in of the little Fort called *La Pree* : For, had the Duke marched directly on, he had
in

in all probability taken both the Town and Citadel of *St. Martin*, the Fortifications being then unfinish'd, and the people in no small dismay for the rout of their Forces; whereas the losse of those three dayes gave time and leisure enough to *Mounseieur de Toyra* Governour of the place to compleat his Works in such a manner that they were thought impregnable by our ablest Souldiers. Or had he took the Fort of *La Pres* in his passage by it, he had not onely hindred the *French* from bringing new Forces by that *Postern* to the relief of the Town, but might have used the same to make good his *Retreat*, when the necessity of his affairs should compell him to it. Both which miscarriages I have heard a Person of great Honour well skilled in the Art Military, and no professed friend unto the Duke, not to impute so much to the Duke himself, who was raw, ignorant, and unexperienced in the Warres; as to Sir *William Courtney*, and Sir *John Borrowes*, two great Souldiers, who had the Conduct of his Counsels, the one being no lesse famous for his service at *Bergan ap Zone*, than the other was for his couragious holding out in defence of *Frankendale*. And yet there was another thing no lesse contributing to the

losse of the whole designe than these two miscarriages, viz: the negligence or long stay of the Earle of *Holland*, who being sent out with a new Fleet for carrying Ammunition, Armes, and Victuals towards the continuance of the Siege, and guarding the passages into the *Island*, trifled out so much time at Court, and made so many Halts betwixt that and *Plymouth*, that he had not found his way out of that Haven when the Duke came back. Its true, the issue of this Action was not answerable to the Expectation, and yet I cannot be of our Authours minde, (who telleth us, *Fol. 71.*) That the *Isle of Rhe* was so inconsiderable, as had we lost there neither blood nor honour, and gained it into the bargain, it would have ill rewarded our preparation and charge of the Expedition.] For, had the *English* gained the *Island*, they had not onely preserved the Town of *Rechel*, but by the advantage of that Town, and the *Isle* together, might easily have taken in the *Isle of Oleran*, and made themselves Masters of the greatest part of the losse of *Aquitaine*, if the ambition of the King had carried Him unto Forraign Conquests.

Fol. 71.

And a Commission granted by the King to five Bishops, Bishop Laud being of the Quorum

Quorum to execute Episcopall Jurisdiction within his Province. The cause impulsive to it was a supposed irregularity, &c.] In this and the rest which follows, and touching the sequestration of the Archbishop of Canterbury, our Authour runs himself into many errours. For, first Bishop Land was not of the Quorum, no more than any of the other, the Commission being granted to the Bishops of London, Durham, Rochester, Oxford, and Bath and Wells, or to any four, three, or two of them, and no more than so. Secondly, the irregularity or supposed irregularity of the said Archbishop was not touched upon in this Commission, as the impulsive cause unto it, the Commission saying onely in the Generall, That the said Archbishop could not at that present in his own person attend those services, which were otherwise proper for his Cognizance and Jurisdiction, and which as Archbishop of Canterbury he might and ought in his own person to have performed and executed, &c. Thirdly, this supposed irregularity was not incurred upon the casuall killing of the Keeper of his (the Archbishops) game, as our Authour telleth us, but for the casuall killing of the Lord Zouches Keeper in Bramhill Parke, where the Archbishop had no game, nor

no Keeper neither. Fourthly, it was conceived by many pious and Learned men, that there was something more incurred by that misadventure than a *supposed irregularity* onely; insomuch that neither Dr. *Williams* Elect Bishop of *Lincolne*, nor Dr. *Carew* Elect Bishop of *Exeter*, nor Dr. *Land* Elect Bishop of *St. Davids*, (besides some others) would receive Consecration from him, though it be true that the Learned Bishop *Andrews* (as our Author tells us) did doe the Archbishop very great service in this businesse, yet was it not so much for his own sake, or an opinion which he had, that no irregularity was incurred by that misadventure; but to prevent a greater mischief: For, well he saw that if the Archbishop at that time had been made *Irregular*, Dr. *Williams* then Bishop of *Lincolne*, and Lord Keeper of the Great Seale (a man in great favour with King *James*, but in more with the Duke) would presently have stept into that See; and he knew too much of the man to venture that great charge and trust of the Church of *England* to his care and government, the dangerous consequences whereof he was able to foretell without the spirit of prophesie.

The

The King of Denmarke being reduced Fol. 73.
almost to a despondence and quitting of his
Kingdome.] Which as it was an occasion
of great grief unto his Confederates, so
to the Emperour himself it grew no mat-
ter of rejoycing. For, I have heard from
a person of great Nobility, that when the
newes came first unto him, he was so farre
from shewing any signes of joy, that he
rather seemed much troubled at it; of
which being asked the reason by some of
the principall men about him, He re-
turned this Answer, As long (said he) as
this Drowzy Dane was in the Head of the
Protestants Army, we shou'd have wor-
med them out of their Estates one after
another; but he being made unusefull to
them, by this defeat, we shall have them
bring the Swedes upon us; and there (said
he) is a gallant young Fellow who will
put us to the last card we have to play.
And so it proved in the event, for the
next year the King of Great Britain and
his Brother of France negotiated with
Gustavus Adolphus King of Sweden (then
being in warre against the Pole) to carry
his Army into Germany, which was done
accordingly: what his successes were our
Authour telleth us hereafter in the course
of this story.

They

Fol. 75.

They who lately were confined as Prisoners, are now not onely free, but petty Lords and Masters, yea and petty Kings.] I cannot chuse but marvell what induced our Authour unto this Expression of making the Gentlemen assembled in the House of Commons not only petty Lords, but even petty Kings. I have heard that K. James once said in a time of Parliament (but whether in the way of jeare, or otherwise, I am not able to say) That there were now five hundred Kings besides himselfe. And I know well what great advantage hath been made of those words of His; whereof to any man that rightly understands the Constitution of an English Parliament, the Commons are so farre from being either Lords or Kings, that they are not so much as a part of the Supreme Councell; it being easie to be evidenced out of the *Writ* which commands their attendance that they are called onely to consent and submit to such resolutions and conclusions (*ad faciendum & consentiendum his quæ tum ibidem de communis Consilio dicti regni nostri (faciente Deo) contigerit ordinari*, So the *Writs* instruct us) as should be then and there agreed on by the Kings great Councell, or the great Councell of the Kingdome. Think

you

you that men no otherwise impowred than so, could take upon them in themselves, or be reputed by our Authour, as Lords and Kings? And yet it may be I may wrong them, for our Authour telleth us that

Their Estates modestly estimated were able to buy the House of Peers (the King excepted) though an hundred and eighteen, thrice over.] In this there is one thing that I doubt, and two things which I shall take leave to consider of. The thing I doubt of is that the *Estates* of the Gentlemen assembled in the House of Commons howsoever estimated, should be able to buy the House of Peers, though it had contained thrice as many as it did, that is to say, three hundred fifty four of the *Lay-Nobility*. Assuredly the Baronage of *England* must needs be brought exceeding low, when the Gentlemen by chance assembled in the *Lower House* (and not called out of purpose for such an experiment) could buy the House of Peers thrice over; there being not above five hundred of the one, and thrice one hundred and eighteen, that is to say, above three hundred and fifty of the other ranke: by which accompt every Gentleman must be able to buy his two Lords and a half one with

Ibid.

with another, the which I think no wise man can imagine. The first thing I consider of is, why our Author should leave out the Bishops for Spirituall Lords in this *valuation*, as if they were no Members of the House of Peers : for that he doth not reckon them into the bargain is evident enough by the *calculation*, there being at that time an hundred and eighteen *Temporall* Lords in the Upper House. Assuredly the Bishops had sate there longer in their Predecessors than any of the Lay-Nobility in their noblest Ancestors ; and had as good right of sitting and of voting there, as either the Prerogative Royall, or the Laws could give them. And it was ill done of our Authour to exclude them now, and not well done (by him that should have kept them in) to exclude them afterwards. The Rights and Privileges of holy Church, confirmed in the first Article of the *Magna Charta*, and sworn to by all Kings succeeding, were never so infringed as by that *exclusion*. But the King soon found the sad effects and consequents of those evil Counsellors by which He was perswaded to it ; the next thing which was done in Parliament being the taking away or abrogating of His own *Negative Voice* , and passing all subsequent

subsequent Laws and Ordinances without His consent. And by this meanes, they brought to passe another point, which, as it seems, was aimed at from the beginning of that Parliament; it being told Sir *Edward Dering* (as he himself informs us in the *Collection of his Speeches*) That if they could bring the Lords to sit in the House of Commons, and the King to be but as one of the Lords, then their worke was done. This brings me to the second thing which I am to consider of, and that is why our Authour should make the King to be no other than a Member of the House of Peers; for when he tells us that the Gentlemen in the House of Commons were able to buy all the House of Peers, *except the King*, it must needs follow that the King must be accounted of as one of that House, the said exception notwithstanding. So that by turning the Bishops out of the House, and bringing the King into their place, he hath quite altered the right constitution and form of Parliaments; which antiently consisted of the Lords Spirituall, the Lords Temporall, and the Commons, as the three Estates, over all which the King presided as the Supreme Head. Its true indeed that the King having passed away
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the Bishops Votes did after by a strange improvidence in a Message or Declaration sent from *Yorke* on the 17th of *June*, reckon Himselfe as one of the three Estates, which being once slip from His pen, and taken up by some leading men in the Houses of Parliament, it never was let fall again in the whole agitation of those Controversies which were bandied up and down between them. Nor did many of the Kings owne party see the danger of it, who taking it for granted that the King was onely one of the three Estates (a Member of the House of Peers, as our Authour makes Him) were forced to grant in pursuance of the said disputes, that the two Houses of Parliament were *co-ordinate* with the King, not *subordinate* to Him: and what could follow thereupon, but that they might proceed (as they did) without Him, that of *co-ordinata se invicem suppleant*, being a most undoubted *Maxime* in the Schools of *Logick*.

Fol. 78. The Attorney pleading eagerly though impertinently for the King.] How eagerly the Attorney pleaded for the King, I am not able to say, but it appeareth even by our Authour himself, that his Plea was pertinent enough, and drew so many of the

the Lords into his opinion, that the Popular party, or Lower-House-Lords (as some call them) in the House of Peers durst not adventure it to vote till the Lord Say (by drawing that House into a Committee) made this Proposition, That the Lords who were against the Liberties of the Subject should with subscription of their Names enter their Reasons to remain upon Record, that Posterity might not be to seek (for so it followeth in our Authour) who they were who so ignobly betrayed the Freedom of their Nation: and that this done and not before they should go to voting. Upon which terrible Proposition the Lords shrunk aside, as afterwards they did in the late long Parliament, Anno 1641. (when frightened by the menaces of Dr. Burgesse's Myrmidons) in the businesse of the Earle of Strafford; and in the yeare 1642. on the like threatening motion made by Mr. Hollis, for passing the great Bill of the Militia.

Some say that when the multitude were belabouring him with stones and cudgels, they said that were his Master the Duke there, they would give him as much.] And questionlesse they meant as much as they said, the Duke being made so odious by the continuall prosecution of his Adversaries

Fol. 88.

saries in both Houses of Parliament, and the Remonstrance made against him by the House of Commons at the end of the last Session; that it was thought by most men that the Dukes life and the Publique safety could not stand together. On which inducements that *fatal blow* was struck by *Felton* as it after followeth, fol. 90, & 94. But whereas our Authour tells us, fol. 90. that he declared as much in certain papers which were *sticked to the linings of his hat*. I thinke he is something out in that, there being nothing found in his hat, or elsewhere about him, but a few loose papers, such as might well become those men who make God the Authour of their sinnes. His first ascribing of the *fact* to the late Remonstrance was made to one *Dr. Hutchenson* (Chaplain in Ordinary to the King, and then in the course of his attendance) sent by the King of purpose as soon as the sad news was brought unto Him, to trie if he could learn out of him upon what motives he committed that most horrible murder; and afterwards again and again, both at the time of his examination before the Lords of the Councell, and finally at the very instant of his execution. But to return again to the threatening words used by the people in
the

Of the Reign of King Charles.

65

the murder of Doctor *Lamb*, I well remember, that this bald Rhime was spread about not long after in pursuance of them, viz:

*Let Charles and George doe what
they can,
The Duke shall die like Doctor Lamb.*

And I remember also that about the same time there came out a *Chronogram*, in which the Numerall letters of *Georgius Dux Buckinghamia*. viz:

M. D. C. X. V. V. V. I. I. I.

made up the yeare 1628. to which these Verses were subjoynd, and being made by chance must needs be thought a strange Prognostication of that which followed, viz:

*Since With this yeare thy name doth so
agree,
Then shall this yeare to thee most fatall
bee.*

And in the upshot were fined (as was reported) six thousand pounds.] And this is all the City suffered for *Lamb's* death, not that they payed six thousand pounds, or that any such Fine was imposed upon them, but that they were abused with this

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false Report. But to say truth (I hope my Masters of the City will excuse me for it) a fine of 60000 li. had been little enough to expiate such a dangerous Riot, and so vile murder, in which both *Mayor* and *Magistrates* had contracted a double guilt: Fi st, in not taking care to suppress the Riot, which in a discontented and unquiet City might have gathered strength, and put the whole Kingdom into blood before its time. And secondly, in not taking order to prevent the murder, or bring the Malefactors to the Barre of Justice. The punishment of the principall *Actors* in this barbarous *Tragedy* might possibly have preserved the life of the Duke of *Buckingham*; and had the City smarted for not doing their duty, it might in probability have prevented the like Riot at *Edinburgh*, *Non ibi consistunt exempla ubi coeperunt*, saith the Court-Historian, Examples seldome end where they take beginning, but either first or last will finde many followers. And though *Lamb* might deserve a farre greater punishment, than the fury of an ungoverned Multitude could inflict upon him; yet suffering without Form of Law, it may very well be said that he suffered unjustly, and that it was no small peece of injustice that there

there was no more justice done in revenge thereof. Connivance at great crimes adds authority to them, and makes a Prince lose more in strength than it gets in love. For howsoever matters of Grace and Favour may oblige some particular persons, yet it is justice (impartiall and equall justice) that gives satisfaction unto all, and is the chief supporter of the Royall Throne. God hath not put the sword into the hands of the *supreme powers* that they should *bear the same in vain*, or use it only for a shew or a signe of sovereignty; for then a scabbard with a pair of hilts would have served the turn.

In his Will he bequeathed to his Dutchesse Fol. 91.
the fourth part of his Lands for her *joyn-
tara*.] And that was no great *joyn-
ture* for so great a Lady. I never heard that the whole estate in lands which the Duke died seiled of (of his own purchasing or procuring under two great Princes) came to Foure thousand pounds *per annum*, which is a very strong Argument that he was not covetous, or did abuse his Masters favours to his own enriching. And though hee had Three hundred thousand pounds in Jewels (as our Author tells us) yet taking back the sixty thousand pounds which he owed at his death,

two hundred forty thousand pounds is the whole remainder; a pretty *Aldermans* Estate, and but hardly that. Compare this poor pittance of the Dukes with the vast Estate of *Cardinal Richelieu* (the favourite and great Minister of the late *French* King) and it will seem no greater than the *Widows mite* in respect of the large and costly Offerings of the Scribes and Pharisees: The Cardinals Estate being valued at the time of his death at sixty millions of *Franks* in rents and monies, which amount unto six millions of pounds in our *English* estimate, whereas the Dukes amounted not to a full third part of one million only. Such was the end of this great Duke, not known to me either in his Frowns or his Favours (*nec beneficio nec injuria notus*, in the words of *Tacitus*) and therefore whatsoever I have written in relation to him will be imputed (as I hope) to my love to truth, not my affections to his person.

Fol. 94.

His body was from thence conveyed to Portsmouth and there hung in chains, but by some stole and conveyed away Gibbet and all.] Our Authour is deceived in this, for I both saw the whole Gibbet standing, and some part of the body hanging on it about three years after; the people being

being so well satisfied with the death of the Duke, that though they liked the murder, they had no such care of the Wretch that did it. That which might possibly misguide him was, the like injury done by some *Puritanicall Zealots* to the publick Justice in taking down (by stealth) the body of *Enoch ap Evans* that furious *Welsh-man* who killed his Mother and his Brother for kneeling at the blessed Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and for those execrable facts was hang'd in chains not farre from *Shrewsbury*. The Narrative whereof was published in print by one *Mr. Studly*, and to him I referre the Reader, if he desire any farther satisfaction in it.

After this *Mr. Montague's Booke* called *Appello Cæsarem* was called in by Proclamation.] This Proclamation beareth date the 17th day of *January*: In which it was to be observed that the Book is not charged with any false Doctrine, but for being the first cause of those disputes and differences which have since much troubled the quiet of the Church. His Majesty hoping that the occasion being taken away, men would no longer trouble themselves with such unnecessary disputations. Whether His Majesty did well in doing no more, if the

Ibid.

Book contained any false Doctrine in it; or in doing so much, if it were done only to please the Parliament (as our Authour tells us) I take not upon me to determine. But certainly it never falleth out well with Christian Princes, when they make Religion bend to Policy, and so it hapned to this King, the calling in of *Montague's* Book, and the advancing of Dr. *Barnaby Potter* (a thorow-paced *Calvinian*) unto the Bishopricke of *Carlisle* at the same time also, could not get him any love in the hearts of His people, who looked upon those Acts no otherwise than as tricks of King-craft. So true is that of the wise *Historian* (whom I named last) *inviso semel Principe, cœu bene facta, cœu male facta premunt*, that is to say, when Princes once are in discredit with their Subjects, as well their good actions as their bad, are all counted grievances.

Fol. 96.

For *Arminianisme* informations were very pregnant, that notwithstanding the Resolution of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other reverend Bishops and Divines assembled at Lambeth, Anno 1595. &c.] Our Authour in this *Folio* gives me work enough by setting out the large spreading of *Arminianisme*, and the great growth of *Popery* in the Church of England. First, for

for *Arminianisme*, hee telleth us that the proofs thereof were very pregnant. How so? Because the nine Articles made at *Lambeth*, had not of late been so much set by, as he and the *Committee* for Religion did desire they should. Why man? The Articles of *Lambeth* were never looked on as the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, nor intended to be so looked on by the men that made them, though our Authour please to tell us in following words, That *they were made of purpose by the said Archbishop and Divines to deliver and declare their opinions concerning the sense of the nine and thirty Articles in those particulars.* For though those Articles might and did deliver their opinions in the points disputed, yet were they but opinions still, and the opinions of private and particular men are no publick Doctrines. Therefore to set this matter right, I will first lay down the true occasion of the making of these Articles. Secondly, of what authority they were when made and agreed upon. And thirdly, what might move King *James* to recommend them first to the Church of *Ireland*, and after to the Assembly at *Dort*, and not (as our Authour tells us) by a strain *Hysteron Proteron* to the Assembly at *Dort* first, and to *Ireland* afterwards.

And first for the occasion of these Articles we may please to know, that the first Reformers of this Church look neither on the *Lutheran* or *Calvinian* Doctrines as their Rule and Guide, but held themselves unto the constant current of approved antiquity: To which the *Melanchthonian* way being thought most consonant, was followed not onely by Bishop Hooper in his Treatise on the Ten Commandements, and by Bishop Latimer in some passages of his Sermons; but also by the Compilers of the Book of Articles, and the Book of Homilies, the publick Monuments of this Church in points of Doctrine. But the *Calvinian* way having found some entrance, there arose a difference in the judgments of particular men touching these Debates; the matter being controverted *pro* and *con* by some of the Confessors in prison in Qu. Maryes dayes. After whose death many of our exiled Divines returning from *Geneva*, *Basil*, and such other places where *Calvins* Dictates were received as Celestiall Oracles, brought with him his Opinions in the points of Predestination, Grace and Perseverance; which they dispersed and scattered over all the Church; by whose authority, and the diligence of the Presbyterian

terian party, (then busie in advancing their holy Discipline) it came to be universally received for the onely true and Orthodox Doctrine, and was so publicly maintained in the Schools of *Cambridge*. Insomuch that when *Peter Baro* a Frenchman, Professeur for the Lady *Magaret* in that University, revived the *Melancthonian* way in his publick Lectures, and by his Arguments and great Learning had drawn many others to the same perswasions; complaint was made thereof by Dr. *Whitakers*, Dr. *Willet*, Mr. *Chatterton*. Mr. *Perkins*, and certain others to the Ld. Archbishop of *Canterbury* (Dr. *Whitgift*) desiring his assistance to suppress that Faction, which was like to grow by this means in that University. On which complaint the said Archbishop calling to him to *Lambeth* Doctor *Richard Flecher* then Bishop of *London* and Doctor *Richard Vaughan* then Elect of *Banger*, did then and there with the advice of Dr. *Whitakers*, Dr. *Tindall*, and some other Divines (most of them Parties to the suit) agree on these nine Articles (which our Author speaks of) to be sent to *Cambridge* for the determining and comp-ling of the present Controversies. And this was done upon the 26th of *November*, Anno 1595.

and

and being so done and sent accordingly to *Cambridge*, Dr. *Baro* found himself so discouraged and discountenanced, that at the end of his first three years he relinquished his Professourship, and retired not long after into *France*; leaving the University in no small disorder for want of such an able Instructor to resort unto. We are to know also, that amongst others of *Baro* his followers, there was one Mr. *Rter Barret*, who in a Sermon preached in *St. Maryes Church*, not onely defended *Baro* his Doctrine, but used some offensive words against *Calvin*, *Beza*, and some others of the *Reformators*, for which he was convented before the Heads of the University (amongst which Doctor *James Montague* then Master of *Sydney Coll.* and a great stickler in this quarrell, was of great authority) and by them *May* the 5th next following, was enjoyned to recant, and a set form of Recantation was prescribed unto him: which though he read publickly in the Church, yet the contentions and disputes grew greater and greater till the coming down of the nine Articles from *Lambeth*, hastened with greater earnestnesse upon this occasion.

Secondly

Secondly, these Articles being thus made and agreed upon, we are next to see of what authority they were in the Church of *England*, and how long they continued in authority in the Schools of *Cambridge*: concerning which we are to know, that the making of these Articles being made knowne to Queen *ELIZABETH* by *William* Lord *Burly* Lord Treasurer of *England*, and Chancellor of that University (who neither liked the Tenets, nor the manner of proceeding in them) she was most passionately offended that any such innovation should be made in the publick Doctrine of this Church; and once resolved to have them all attainted of a *Premunire*. But afterwards upon the interposition of some friends, & the reverent esteem She had of that excellent Prelate, the Lord Archbishop, (whom She used to call Her *black Husband*) She let fall Her anger; and having favourably admitted his excuse therein, She commanded him speedily to recall and suppress those *Articles*: which was done with so much care and diligence, that for a while, a Copie of them was not to be found in all that University, though afterwards by little and little they peeped forth again. And having crept forth once again,

Observations on the History

again, it was moved by Dr. Reynolds in the Conference at Hampton Court, An. 1603. That the nine Assertions Orthodoxall, as he termed them, concluded upon at Lambeth, might be inserted into the Booke of Articles (that is to say, of the Church of England.) The King was told (who never had heard before of those nine Assertions) that by reason of some Controversies, arising in Cambridge about certain points of Divinity, My Lords Grace assembled some Divines of especiall note to set down their opinions, which they drew into nine Assertions, and so sent them to the University for the appeasing of those quarrels: Which being told His Majesty, answered, That when such Questions arise among Scholars, the quietest proceeding were to determine them in the University, and not to stuffe the Book with all conclusions Theologicall, Cont. p. 24. 40. 41. So that these nine Assertions being first pressed at Cambridge by the command of Qu. Elizabeth, and afterwards esteemed unfitting to be inserted into the Book of Articles by the finall judgement of King James; there is no reason in the world, why any man should be traduced of Arminianisme, or looked on as an enemy of the true Religion here by Law established, for not conforming his opinions

nions to their no-authority. It is not the meeting of a few Bishops and Divines in the Hall at *Lambeth*, but the body of the whole Clergy lawfully assembled in Convocation, which hath authority in determining Controversies in Faith, and to require conformity to such determinations and conclusions as are there agreed on: When the nine Articles of *Lambeth* shall be so confirmed, our Authour may declare them for the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, and traduce all men for *Arminians* which subscribe not to them.

Thirdly, in the last place we are to see what moved King *James* to recommend these Articles to the Church of *Ireland*, and afterwards to the Assembly at *Dort*. And herein we must understand that Dr. *James Montague*, at that Kings first entrance on this Crown, was made Dean of the Chappell, (which place he held not onely when he was Bishop of *Wells*, but of *Winchester* also) who being a great stickler in the quarrels at *Cambridge*, and a great master in the art of *Insinuation*, had cunningly fashioned King *James* unto these opinions, to which the Kings education in the Kirk of *Scotland* had before inclined him. So that it was no very hard matter for him (having an Archbishop
also

also of his own perswasions) to make use of the Kings authority, for recommending those nine Articles to the Church of Ireland, which he found would not be admitted in the Church of England. Besides, the *Irish Nation* at that time were most tenaciously addicted to the Errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome, and therefore must be bended to the other extreme, before they could be strait and Orthodox in these points of Doctrine, which reason might work much upon the spirit of that King, who used in all his Government (as a piece of *King-craft*) to ballance one extreme by the other, countenancing the *Papist* against the *Puritans*, and the *Puritans* sometimes against the *Papist*, that betwixt both the true Religion and the Professours of it might be kept in safety. On what accompt these nine Articles were commended to the Assembly at *Dort* we have shewed before, and upon what accompt they were abolished in the Church of *Ireland*, we shall see hereafter. In the mean time our Author telleth us that

Ibid.

By the prevalency of the Bishops of London and Westminster the Orthodox party were depressed, & the truth they served was scarce able to protect them to impunity.] A
man

man would think our Author were *Chair-*
man at the least in a Committee for Re-
ligion ; for he not onely takes upon him
to declare who are *Orthodox* in point of
Faith, and what is *truth* and not *truth* in
matter of controverſie, but cenſureth two
great Bishops (both of them Counſellors
of State) for depreſſing both. This favou-
reth more of the party than of the Hiſto-
rian, whom it might better have become
to have told us onely that a Controverſie
being raiſed in matters of a Scholaſticall
nature, thoſe Bishops favoured the one
party more than they did the other, and
not have layd it down ſo majeſterially
that they diſfavoured the *Orthodox* party
and depreſt the *truth*, or that the *truth* they
ſerved was ſcarce able to protect them to
impunity.] A very heavy Charge which
hath no *truth* in it. For I am very confi-
dent that neither of theſe Bishops did
ever draw any man within the danger of
punishment, in relation only to their *Te-*
nets in the preſent Controverſies, if they
managed them with that prudence and
moderation which became men ſtudious-
ly affected to the *Gospel of Peace* ; or
were not otherwiſe guilty of creating
diſturbances in the Church, or *ruptures* in
the body of the Common-wealth. On
which

which occasions if they came within the danger of Ecclesiastical censures, or fell into the power of the *High Commission*; it was no reason that their *Tenets* in the other points (were they as true as truth it selfe) should give them any impunity, or free them from the punishment which they had deserved. But it hath been the constant *artifice* of the Churches Enemies, not to ascribe the punishment of *Factions* and *scismaticall* persons to the proper cause, but to their *orthodoxie* in Religion, and zeal against *Popish* superstitions, that so they might increase the number of *Saints* and *Confessours* against the next coming out of the *Book of Martyrs*. But *Arminianisme* being as some say, but a bridge to *Popery*, we will passe with our Authour over that Bridge to the hazard which was feared from Rome; and that he telleth us came two waies: First,

Ibid.

By the uncontroled preaching of severall points tending and warping that way by Montague, Goodman, Cozens, and others.] And here againe I thinke our Authour is mistaken: For neither Montague nor Cozens were questioned for preaching any thing which warped toward *Popery*, but the one of them for writing the Book called *Appello Casarem*, the other

other for publishing a *Body of Devotions* according to the *Hours of Prayer*: in neither of which an equall and judicious Reader will finde any *Popery*, unlesse it be such *part-boyled Popery* as our Authour speaks of, whereof more anon: And as for *Goodman* (our Authour might have called him *Bishop Goodman*, though now he be but *Goodman Bishop*, as he calls himselfe) though he preached something once which might *warp* toward *Popery*, yet he did not preach it *uncontrouled*, being not onely questioned for it, but sentenced to a *Recantation* before the King. He telleth us of some others, but he names them not, and till he names them he saies nothing which requires an Answer. So that the first fear which flowed from *Rome*, being ebbed again, we next proceed unto the second; which came, saith he, from

The audacious obtruding of divers superstitious ceremonies by the Prelates, as erecting of fixed Altars, the dapping and cringing towards them, and the standing up at *Gloria Patri*.] Our Authour is more out in this than in that before, for I am confident that no Bishop in the times he speaks of, did either command the erecting of fixed Altars, or the bowing or cringing towards them; nor have I heard by any

G

credible

Ibid.

credible report, that any such *fixed Altars* were erected, as he chargeth on them. So that I might here end this observation without farther trouble. But because the placing of the *Communion Table* *Altar-wise* did carry some resemblance to the *Altars* used in the Church of *Rome*, and that some such thing was done in some Churches much about this time; I shall here shew upon what reasons it was done, and how farre they that did it might be justified in it. The Reader therefore is to know that by the late neglect of *decency* and good order in most Parish Churches of this Land, the Communion Table had been very much profaned by sitting on it, scribbling and casting hats upon it in Sermon-time; at other times by passing the Parish accompts, and disputing businesses of like nature, to the great scandall and dishonour of our Religion. For remedy and redresse whereof, it seemed good unto some *Bishops* and other *Ordinaries*, out of a pious zeal to the Churches honour, and for the more reverent administration of the holy Sacrament, to give way that the Communion Table might be removed from the body of the Chancel where of late it stood, and placed at the East end thereof all along the wall, in the same place

place and posture as the *Altars* had been situated in the former times: For which permission I doubt not but the *Bishops* and other *Ordinaries* had sufficient ground both from *law* and *practice*. And first for *Law*, there passed an Act (and it was the first Act of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign) for restoring to the *Crown* the antient jurisdiction and rights thereof: by virtue of which Act, and the Authority which naturally was inherent in Her Royall person, she published certain *Injunctions*, Anno 1559. in one of which it was thus ordered and enjoyned, that is to say, That the holy Table in every Church be decently made and set in the place where the *Altar* stood, and there commonly covered as thereto belongeth, and as shall be appointed by our *Visitors*. In the same Parliament there passed also another Statute for confirmation of the *Book of Common Prayer*, wherein it was enacted, That if it shall happen that any contempt or irreverence be used in the Ceremonies or rites of the Church by the misusing of the Orders appointed in this Book, the *Queens Majesty* may by the like advice of the said *Commissioners* or *Metropolitan*, ordain and publish such further Ceremonies or Rites as may be most for the advancement of Gods glory, the edifying of

his Church, and the due reverence of Christs mysteries and Sacraments. And in pursuance of this Act there came out first a Book of Orders, Anno 1561. and afterwards a Booke of Advertisements, Anno 1565. so made and authorized as the Law required. In the first of which it was appointed, That in such Churches where the steps were not taken down the Communion Table should be placed on the steps where the Altar stood, and that there be fixed on the wall over the Communion boord the Tables of Gods precepts, imprinted for the said purpose. And in the second it was ordered, That the Parish should provide a decent Table, standing on a frame for the Communion Table, which they shall decently cover, &c. and shall set the ten Commandments upon the East wall over the said Table. Lay these together, and the Product will be briefly this, that the Communion Table was to stand where the Altar stood, above the steps, and under the Commandements, and therefore to be placed *Altar-wise* all along the wall. And that this was the meaning of them appeareth by the constant practise of the Royall Chappels, many Cathedrals of this Land, the Chappels of great men, and some Parochial Churches also, in which the

the *Communion Table* never stood otherwise than in the posture of an *Altar* since the *Reformation*, without the least suspicion of *Popery*, or any inclinations to it: But of this more hereafter in another place.

Secondly, the next thing here objected is *bowing or cringing* (as my Authour calls it) toward the said *Table* so transposed and placed *Altar-wise*, which many of the Bishops used, but none of them ever did obtrude upon any other, who in this point were left unto the liberty of their owne discretion. That adoration towards the *Altar*, or Eastern part of the Church (be it which it will) was generally used by the best and most religious Christians in the Primitive times, our Authour (if he be the man he is said to be) being well versed in the Monuments and Writings of most pure Antiquity, cannot chuse but know; and therefore must needs grant also that it is not *Popery*, or any way inclining to it: or if it be, we shall entitle *Popery* unto such Antiquity, as no learned Protestant can grant it. Tis true indeed, that this bowing toward the East, or *Altar*, had been long discontinued in the Church of *England*. And I have been informed by persons of great worth and honour,

that it was first revived again by Bishop Andrews; of whom our Author telleth us, *Fol. 64* that he was studiously devoted to the Doctrine of the Antient Fathers, and Primitive, not onely in his aspect and gesture, but in all his actions. This in a man so Primitive in all respects, so studious of Antiquity, as our Authour makes him; so great an enemy to the Errours and Corruptions of Rome, as his *Apologie* against Cardinal Bellarmine, his *Answer* to Cardinal Peron, and his *Tortura Torti*, have declared him to be, would blast his Fame by the reviving of a *Popish ceremony*: and if it were no reproach nor dishonour to him to be the first that did revive it, I see no reason why it should be counted an *audaciousnesse* in the rest of the Prelates to follow the Primitive and uncorrupted use of the Church, countenanced by the Example of so rare a man: though I confesse *audaciousnesse* had been a term too modest, had they obtruded it on the Clergie by their sole authority, as is charged upon them in this place.

Thirdly, the next *audaciousnesse* here spoke of, is the obtruding of another Ceremony on the Church of England, that is to say, the standing up at *Gloria Patri*. Never obtruded I am sure, nor scarce so much

much as recommended, there was no cause for it; the people in so many places of this Realm being accustomed thereunto as well as unto *standing up* at the *Creed* and *Gospels*, without any interruption or discontinuance: I grant indeed that the Rubricke of the Common-Prayer-Booke neither requireth standing at the *Gospels*, or the *Gloria Patri*, and yet was standing at the *Gospels* of such Generall usage in all the parts of this *Land*, that he that should have used any other gesture, would have been made a laughing-stock, a contempt, and scorn to all the residue of the Parish. Besides the Rubrick of the Church requiring us to *stand up* at the *Creed*, obligeth us by the same reason to stand up at the *Gospels* and the *Gloria Patri*; the *Gospels* being the foundation of the *Creed*, as the *Gloria Patri* is the abstract and *Epitomie* of it, or were it otherwise, and that the Rubrick which requireth us to *stand* at the *Creed*, gave no authority to the like posture of the body in the *Gloria Patri*, yet many things may be retained in a *Reformed Church* without speciall Rubricks to direct them, *ex vi Catholica consuetudinis*, by vertue of the generall and constant usage of the Church of Christ, especially where there is no

Law unto the contrary, nor any offence committed against Faith and Piety. If it be asked why *standing* at the *Gloria Patri* should be discontinued in some places when *standing* at the *Gospels* was retained in all, there being no more authority for the one than the other; I will give the Reader one Answer, and my Authour shall help him to another. The Answer which I shall give is this, that though the *Rubricks* did require, that the *Gloria Patri* should be said at the end of every *Psalm*, throughout the year, and at the end of *Benedictus*, the *Magnificat*, and the *Nunc dimittis*, yet was this order so neglected in most parts of the Realm, as *Puritanism* and *Innovation* did gain ground upon it that it was very seldome used. And when the Form it self of giving glory to God was once layd aside, no marvel if the gesture which attended it was at last forgotten. If this suffice not, I shall borrow our Authors help for a further answer, who telleth us of Archbishop Abbot, fol. 127. That his extraordinary remissness in not exacting strict Conformity to the prescribed Orders of the Church in the point of Ceremony, seemed to resolve those legall determinations to their first Principle of Indifference, and led in such an habit of Inconformity,

mony, as the future reduction of those tender-conscienced men to long discontinued obedience was interpreted an Innovation: then which nothing in the world could be said more truly. I have said nothing of the Antient and Generall usage of those severall Ceremonies, because the Question is not now of the Antient usage, but whether and how farre they were to be used, or not used in the Church of England according to such *Rubricks, Lawes, and Canons* which remain in force. Nor shall I adde more at the present, than that I think our Authour hath not rightly timed the businesses in dispute between us, the placing of the Communion Table A'tar-wise, *bowing or cringing* toward it; and standing at the *Gloria Patri*, not being so generally in use at the time of this Parliament as to give any scruple or offence to the greatest Zealots: or if they were, they could not honestly be fathered on Archbishop *Land*, as countenanced or brought in by him in the time of his government, of which more hereafter: our Authour now draws toward an end, and telleth us finally,

But these were but part-boyled Popery, or Popery oblique.] So then the Ceremonies above-mentioned how Primitive soever

Ibid.

ever they were must be damned for *Popery*, though it be onely *part boyled and oblique Popery*, as our Authour calls it; and with that brand, or by the name of *English Popish Ceremonies* (as the Scottish Presbyterians term them) the rest as well as these may be also blemished: but let them call them what they will, we see now by a most wofull and lamentable experience that the taking away of these *part boyled Poperies*, these *English Popish Ceremonies*, or whatsoever else the malignity of any men shall please to call them, the substance of Religion hath been much impaired; and by this breaking down of the Pale of the *Vineyard*, not onely the *little Foxes* have torn off her *clusters*, but the *wilde Bores* have struck at her very root. I have no more to adde now, but a witty and smart *Epigram* made on this, or the like occasion, and is this that followeth.

*A learned Prelate of this Land
Thinking to make Religion stand,
With equall poize on either side,
A mixture of them thus he try'd:
An Ounce of Protestant he singleteth,
And then a Dram of Papist mingleth,*

With

With a Scruple of the Puricane,!

*And boyled them all in his brain-pan ;
But when he thought it would digest
The scruple troubled all the rest.*

The greatest danger was from Popery direct. And from this the danger appeared very great, &c.] And here I thought I should have heard, that some points of direct and down-right Popery had been obtruded by the Bishop, and Prelaticall Clergy; but on the contrary, I finde all silent in that case, and good reason for it. Whence then appeared so great a danger? not from the introducing of Popish Doctrines, but increase of Papists, and that not onely in some Counties of England, but in the Kingdomes of Scotland and Ireland also: with those of Scotland and Ireland I forbear to meddle, though the Committee for Religion having an Apostolical care of all the Churches, did take them also into their consideration; marveling onely by the way, how our Brethren of the Kirke, (who stood so high upon the termes of their Independencie) could brook, that their affaires should be so much looked into by an English Parliament. But where our Author telleth us, that in some Counties of England,
the

Ibid.

the Papists were multiplied to some thousands of Families, more than there were in Queen Elizabeths time, there may be very good reason given for that: for since the death of Queen Elizabeth, the Holydayes had been made dayes of common labour, and yet all sports prohibited on the Sunday also: the Common-prayer-Book either quite neglected, or so flubbered over, that there was no face of Regular Devotion to be found amongst us; the Churches in most places kept so slovenly, and the behaviour of the people so irreverent in them, that it is no mervail that men desirous to worship God in the beauty of holinesse, should be induced to joyns themselves to such societies of men, as seemed to have more in them of a Christian Church.

Fol. 101. The King having thus dissolved the Parliament, &c.] That is to say, after so many indignities, and provocations, as were given unto him by the disorder & tumultuous carriage of some of the Members, which our Author very handsomely and ingenuously hath described at large; it was the opinion of most men, as our Author telleth us, Fol. 132. that the dissolution of this Parllament was the end of all: And certainly there was very good reason why

it might be thought so, the King never having good success in any of his Parliaments, since his first coming to the Crown; and withall, having an example before his eyes, of the like discontinuance of assembling the *three Estates* in the Realme of *France*, by the King then Reigning, and that upon farre lesse provocations then were given King *Charles*. For whereas in an Assembly of three Estates, *Anno 1614.* the *third Estate*, which represents our House of Commons, entrenched too busily upon the liberties of the Clergy, and some preheminencies and exemptions which the Nobility enjoyed by the favour of some former Kings; it gave the King so great offence, that he resolved first to *dissolve them*, and never after to be troubled with the like *Impertinencies*. Nor was there since that time, any such *Assembly*, nor like to be hereafter, in the times ensuing, those Kings growing weary of that yoake, which that great *Representation* did indeavour to impose upon them. But because he would not cut off all communication betwixt himselfe and his people, he ordained another kind of meeting in the place thereof, which he called *La Assemblée des notables*, that is to say, the Assembly of some principall

cipall persons; composed of some selected
 persons out of every *Order* or *Estate* (of his
 own nomination) whereunto should be ad-
 ded some Counsellor out of every Court of
 Parliament (of which there are eight in all
 in *France*) throughout that Kingdome;
 which being fewer in number, would not
 breed such a confusion, as the generall
Assembly of the *States* had done before,
 and be withall more pliant and conform-
 able to the Kings desires; and yet their
 Acts to be no lesse obliging to all sorts of
 people, then the others were. Such an
 Assembly as this, (but that the Clergy
 had no vote in it) was that which was
 called here by my *Lord Protector*, imme-
 diately after the dissolving of the late long
Parliament, who possibly had his hint
 from this *Institution*. And this may teach
 all Parliaments in the times succeeding, to
 be more carefull in their Councils, and
 use more moderation in pursuance of
 them, especially when they meet with an
 armed power, for fear they should not
 onely interrupt, but cut off that spring,
 from whence the Blessings both of Peace
 and Happinesse, have formerly been de-
 rived on this Church and State. No man
 can love his Fetters though they be of
 Gold. If therefore *Parliaments* should
 finde

finde no way to preserve the *Liberty* of the people, but to put fetters on the *Prince* or *Power* that calls them, if from being *Counsellors*, at the best they shall prove *Controulers*, they must blame no body but themselves. In the meane time that saying of *Paterculus* may be worth their noting, *Non turpe est ab eo vinci quem vincere esset nefas*; it is no shame (saith he) to submit to those, whom it were sinne to overcome.

To which he answered, that he ever was, Fol. 102. and would be ready to give an account of his sayings, and doings in that place, whensoever he should be called unto it by that House, where (as he taketh it) he was onely to be questioned.] This is the first seed of that Doctrine, which after took such deep root in the Houses of Parliament, viz. that no member ought to be questioned for any thing said or done in Parliament, but by the order of the House, of which he was a Member. And to this resolution the Judges of this time seemed to give some countenance, who having before declared, in favour of the House of Commons, that by the Arresting of *Digges* and *Eliot*, the whole House was under an Arrest, did now declare that the *Star-Chamber* (in which Court the King intended to proceed

proceed against them) had no Jurisdiction over offences done in Parliament. But this was onely in an *extra-judiciall* way, being interrogative to that purpose by the King at *Greenwich*, as our Author telleth us, *Fol. 106.* For the same Judges sitting on the seat of *Judicature*, where they were to act upon their Oathes, could finde both Law and Reason too, to bring *their crimes within the cognisance of the Courts of Justice*. And severall Fines accordingly were imposed upon them, most of which were paid, and the Gentlemen afterwards released from their Imprisonments. If any of them did refuse to pay such Fines as were set upon them, they were men either of decayed, or of small estates, and so not able to make payment of the Fines imposed.

Fol. 108. *Surpassing exultation there was thereat, & all the Court kept Jubile, &c.]* And there was very good reason for it, not onely that the Court should keep a *Jubile* at the birth of the Prince, but that surpassing exultation should be thereat in all honest hearts. But I can tell you it was otherwise with too many of the *Puritane* party, who had layed their line another way, and desired not that the King should have any Children; insomuch that at a great
Feast

Feast in Friday street, when some of the company shewed great joy at the news of the Queens first being with Childe, a leading man of that Faction (whom I could name were it worth the while) did not stick to say. That he could see no such cause of joy for the Queens being with Childe; but God had already better provided for us than we had deserved, in giving such a hopefull Progenie by the Queen of Bohemia, brought up in the Reformed Religion; whereas it was uncertain what Religion the Kings Children would follow, being brought up under a Mother so devoted to the Church of Rome. And I remember very well that being at a Town one daies journey from London, when the newes came of the Princes birth, there was great joy shewed by all the rest of the Parish, in causing Bonfires to be made, and the Bells to be rung, and sending Victuals unto those of the younger sort, who were most busily imployed in that publick joy; But so that from the rest of the houses being of the Presbyterian or Puritane partie, there came neither man nor childe, nor wood nor victuals, their doors being shut close all that Evening, as in a time of generall mourning and disconsolation.

H

Where

Fol. 110. *Where was an old skulking Statute long since out of use though not out of force, &c.* The Statute which our Author means was made in the first year of *Edward the second*, and made more for the benefit and ease of the *subject*, than for the advantage of the *King*; This Statute requiring none to take the Order of Knighthood, but such as had Twenty pounds *per annum* of clear yearly rent, whereas before that time all men of Fifteen pound rent *per annum* were required to take it. This proves it to be very *old*, but why my Author should call it a *skulking Statute*, I can see no reason, considering that it lay not hidden under the rubbish of *Antiquity*, but was an open printed Statute, not onely to be seen in the Collection of the Statutes and the Books at large, but in the *Abridgements* of the same: and being a Statute still in *force* (as our Author telleth us) might lawfully be put in practise whensoever the necessities of the King should invite him to it. But whereas our Author telleth us, that the persons mentioned in that Statute were not required to be made *Knights* as was vulgarly supposed, but onely *ad arma gerenda*, to bear *Armes*, and thereupon telleth us a story of a *Sword* and a *Surcoat* to be given unto them,

them, I rather shall believe the plaine words of the *Statute*, than his interpretation of it. The Title of it is in Latine *Statutum de Militibus*, or a Statute for Knights as the English hath it; the words as followeth, viz. Our Sovereign Lord the King hath granted that all such as ought to be Knights, and be not, and have been distressed to take upon them the Order of Knighthood before the Feast of the Nativity of our Lord, shall have respect to take upon them the foresaid Armes of Knighthood untill the Vtas of S. Hilarie, &c. where certainly to be made Knights, to take upon them the Order of Knighthood, and the Armes of Knighthood, are somewhat more than onely and simply to bear Armes, as he faine would have it: were it no otherwise than so, there were some hundred thousands of none or very little estate as fit or fitter to bear Armes than men of Twenty pound rent *per annum*, which was a plentiful revenue as the times then were; and fitter it had been to have called such men unto a generall Muster in their severall Counties than to command them to attend at a Coronation. Nor had the *Sages* of the Law been capable of excuse for their false translations, if they should render *ad arma militiae gerenda* (for

so I think the Latine hath it, though the most *significant* word thereof be left out by our Author) by taking on them the *Armes* of Knighthood, if there were nothing more intended than the *bearing* of *Armes*; by means whereof the subject of the following Ages might be very much burdened, and the Noble Order of Knighthood no lesse dishonoured without any remedy. And besides this, in case the letter of the *Statute* in *French* or *Latine* had been onely to *bear Armes*, not to take the order of Knighthood; the late long Parliament would rather have questioned the Kings Ministers for their *acting* by it, then troubled themselves with *Repealing* it, as they after did. For such was the misery of this King, that all the advantages he had to help himselfe, must be condemned, as done against the *old Lawes* of the Land, or else some new Law shall be made to deprive him of them, that wanting all other *means* to support himselfe, he might be forced to live on the Almes of his Parliament.

Fol. 112. This Winter the Marquesse of Hamilton was very active in mustering up his forces for the King of Swedens assistance, &c.] That so it was in the Kings intention, I shall easily grant, but that the Marquesse had

had no other end in it *than the King of Swedens assistance*, hath been very much doubted, the rather in regard that he raised all or the greatest part of his Forces out of *Scotland*, where he was grown very popular and of high esteem : For, being gotten into the head of an Army of his own Nation, he had so courted the common Souldiers, and obliged most of the Commanders, that a health was openly began by *David Ramsey* (a boisterous Ruffian of the Court) to King *James* the seventh, and so much of the designe discovered by him unto *Donald Mackay* Baron of *Ree* then being in the *Marquesses* Camp, that the Loyall Gentleman thought himselfe bound in duty to make it known unto the King. *Ramsey* denying the whole matter, and the Lord having no proof thereof (as in such secret practises it could hardly be) more than a confident asseveration, and the engagement of his honour ; the King thought good to referre the Controversie to the Earle of *Lindsey*, whom he made Lord high Constable to that end and purpose : many daies were spent accordingly in pursuance of it. But when most men expected that the matter would be tried by battell, as had been accustomed in such cases, the businesse was hushed up at

Court, the Lord *Rex* dismissed to his employments in the warres; and to the minds of all good men the Marquesse did not onely continue in the Kings great favour, but *Ramsay* was permitted to hold the place of a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, which had been formerly procured for him. As for the Army of *Scots* which the Marquesse had carried into *Germany*, they mouldred away by little and little, without doing any thing, which put the Marquess on new Councils of getting that by practise when it was lesse thought of, which he could not get by force of Armes as the case then stood.

Ibid.

Tilly conducted a numerous Army for the relief of *Rostock*, then besieged by the King of Sweden; the King alarmed at his coming, drew out of his Trenches, &c.] In this relation of the great rout which the King of Sweden gave to Tilly, there are many mistakes. For neither was that great Battail fought neer *Rostock* a Hanse town in the Dukedome of *Mecklenbourg*, but neer *Lipsian* a chief Town in the Province of *Misnia*, some hundreds of miles higher into the Countrey; nor did the King of Sweden after this great Victory returne back with his Army towards *Rostock*, but in pursuance of his blow marched forward

ward, and made himself master of all those parts of the Country into which he came; nor was this Battail fought in the yeare 1630, where our Authour placeth it, (so much doth he mistake himselfe both in place and time) but in the year next following.

For many had no fancy to the work, meerly because he was the promoter of it. Fol. 124. Our Author speaks here of the repairing of Saint Pauls, and telleth us that it suffered great diminution for the Bishop of London's sake, who was the chief promoter of it, in which he is very much mistaken. The worke had been twice or thrice before attempted without any effect, but by his diligence and power was brought in short time to so great forwardnesse, that had not his impeachment by the House of Commons, in the late long Parliament, put a period unto his indeavours, it had been within a very few yeares, the most goodly pile of building in the Christian world. And whereas our Author tells us, *that many had no fancy to the worke, because he promoted it,* it was plainly contrary, his care in the promoting it, being one great reason why so many had a fancie to it, most of the Clergy contributing very largely unto it, partly in reference to the

merit of the worke it selfe, and partly in regard of those preferments, which they either had received, or expected from him. The like did most of the Nobility and Gentry in most parts of the Land, knowing the great power and favour which he had with the King, and the many good offices he might doe them, as occasion served. If any had *no fancy* to it, as indeed some had not, it was rather in reference to the worke it selfe, then in relation to the man; it being more in their desires that all the *Cathedrals* should be ruined, then that any one should be repaired. witnesse that base and irreverent expression of that known Schismatick, Doctor *Bastwick*, in the second part of his *Litany*, where grudging at the great summes of money, which had been gathered for the repairing of this Church, al'luding to the name of Cathedrall, he concludes at last (pardon me Reader for defiling my pen, with such immodesties) *that all the mighty masse of money, must be spent in making a seat for a Priests arse to sit in.* And doubt we not, but many more of that Faction were of his opinion, though they had not so much violence, and so little wit, as to make Declaration of it.

But

But should he long deferre that duty, they Fol. 125.
might perhaps be inclined to make choice of
another King.] I do not think that any of
the Scots ever told him so, whatsoever they
thought; or if they did, the King might
very well have seen, that there was more
truth in the Lord of Roes information,
then he was willing to believe, and might
accordingly have taken course to prevent
the practice. But who can save him, who
neglects the meanes of his preservation?
So true is that of the Historian, *Profecto in
eluctabilis fatorum vis cuius fortunam
mentare constituit, ejus corrumpit consilia;*
Assuredly (saith he) when the unresistable
powers of Fate determine on a mans de-
struction, they either overthrow or cor-
rupt those Councils, by which he might
otherwise avoide it. A maxime verified in
the whole course and carriage of this
Kings affaires, neglecting wilfully (to keep
up the credit of an old principle which
he had embraced) all such advertisements
attended to his preservation. It was a
saying of King James, that suspicion was
the sicknesse and disease of a Tyrant, which
laid him open to all the subtrill practises
of malicious cunning; and it was a max-
ime of King Charles, that it was better to
be deceived, then to distrust, which proved

a plaine and easie way unto those calamities, which afterwards were brought upon him, as may be plainly seen by the course of this History.

Fol. 126. But the entertainment most of all august and Royal was that of the Earl of Newcastle, at Welbeck, which was estimated to stand the Earl in at least six thousand pounds.] I have shewed our Author some mistakes already in his Temporalities (as he calls them) and now I shall shew him one or two, besides his misplacing of the battaile of *Tisique* spoken of before, in his *Localities* also (to give him a fine word of his owne complection.) That the Earl of Newcastle entertained the King at *Welbeck* in his passage towards *Scotland*, is a truth unquestioned. But the magnificent entertainment so much talked of, which cost the Earl the summe of six thousand pounds, as our Author telleth us, was neither made in the time or place which are herein mentioned; that in the time of the Kings going toward *Scotland*, or returning thence, *Anno 1633*, but on the last of *July*, in the yeare next following; nor was it made at *Welbeck*, but at *Boalfover Castle* in *Derby-shire*, about five miles thence; nor for the entertainment of the King onely, but of the King and Queen, and their

their severall Courts. The like mistake in matter of *Locality* (that I may not trouble my selfe with it at another time) occurreth, *Fol. 129.* where he telleth us, that both their Majesties, with their train of Court Grantees, and Gentlemen Revellers, were solemnly invited to a most sumptuous banquet at Guildhall, where that resplendent shew was iterated and re-exhibited; whereas indeed the entertainment which the City gave (at that time) to the King, was at the house of *Alderman Freeman*, then Lord Major, situate in *Cornhill* near the *Royall Exchange*, and the entertainment which the King gave unto the City, by shewing them that glorious Maske, was at the *Merchant Taylers Hall* in *Thredneedle-street*, on the backside of the Lord Majors House, an open passage being made from the one to the other, which, as it was the first Act of Popularity, which the King did in all his Raig, so it begat a high degree of affection towards him, in the hearts of the Citizens, though it proved only like a *Widows joy*, (as the saying is) as soon lost as found.

Soon after the Coronation followed an *Fol. 126,* Assembly of Parliament, &c.] In this Parl. many Acts were passed, one for setting a certain maintenance on the *Scottish Clergy*, who

who being robbed of their Tithes by the Lords and Gentry in the beginning of the Reformation, were kept to arbitrary Stipends, which rendered them obnoxious to the power of the great ones, on whose bounty they depended; to remedy this, K. James endeavour'd a settled maintenance on them, after He came to the *English* Crown, but effected by the great care and industry of K. Charles, and confirmed this Parliament. How these ungratefull men did requite Him afterwards, our Author will inform us in the course of his History.

Fol. 127. This done, he hastened home, that is, unto the Embraces of his deare consort, where he ended his progresse July the 20.] The Queen was then at *Greenwich*, when the King came to her, and to which place he came both suddenly and privately by Post-horses, crossing the water at *Black Wall*, without making his entrance into *London*, or his passage by it. Whereas Queen *Elizabeth* did very seldome end any of her *Summer* progresses, but she would wheele about to some end of *London*, and make her passage to *White-Hall*, through some part of the City; not onely requiring the *Lord Major* and *Aldermen* in their *Scarlet* robes, and *Chaines* of *Gold*, to come forth to meet her, but the severall Companies

panies of the City to attend solemnly in their *Formalities* as she passed along. By means whereof, she did not onely preserve the Majesty which did of right belong to a Queen of *England*, but kept the *Citizens* (and consequently all the Subjects) in a reverent estimation and opinion of her. She used the like Arts also in keeping up the Majesty of the Crown, and service of the City, in the reception and bringing in of *Forreign Embassadors*: who if they came to *London* by Water, were met at *Gravesend* by the Lord Major, the Aldermen, and Companies in their severall Barges, and in that solemn sort conducted unto *White Hall* staires, but if they were to come by Land, they were met in the like sort at *Shooters Hill*, by the Major & Aldermen, and thence conducted to their lodgings, the Companies waiting in the streets in their severall habits. The like she used also in celebrating the *Obsequies* of all Christian Kings, whether Popish or Protestant, with whom she was in *correspondence*; performed in such a solemn and magnificent manner that it preserved Her in the estimation of all forreign Princes, though differing in Religion from Her, besides the great contentment which the people took in those Royal actions. Some other Arts

Arts she had of preserving Majesty, and keeping distance with Her people ; yet was so popular withall when she saw Her time, that never *Majesty* and *Popularity* were so matched together. But these being layed aside by K. *James* who brooked neither of them, and not resumed by King *Charles*, who had in this point too much of the Father in him ; there followed first a neglect of their Persons, which Majesty would have made more sacred ; and afterward a dislike of their Government, which a little Popularity would have made more gratefull.

Ibid.

A very learned man he was, his erudition all of the old stamp, stilly principled in the Doctrine of S. Augustine, which they who understand it not call Calvinisme.] Of the Learning of Archbishop *Abbot*, and how farre it was of the old stamp, I shall say nothing at the present ; But whereas our Author makes *Calvinisme* and the Doctrine of *S. Augustine* to be one and the same, I think he is very much out in that ; there being some things maintained by *S. Augustine*, not allowed by *Calvin*, and many things maintained by *Calvin*, which were never taught him in *S. Augustine*. *S. Augustine* was a great maintainer of *Episcopacy*, which the *Calvinians* have ejection

ed out of all their Churches; and was so strict in defence of the necessity of *Baptisme*, that he doomed all Infants dying without it to the Pains of Hell, and thereby got the name of Infant damastiques; whereas many of the *Calvinists* make *Baptisme* a thing so indifferent (*si habeas recte, si careas nihil damni*, as one telleth us of them) that it is no great matter whether it be used or not. And on the other side the *Calvinists* maintain a Parity of *Ministers* in the Church of Christ, conditional obedience to the Civil Magistrate, the suffering of the *Pains of Hell* in our Saviours soule, and putting no other sense than that *horrid blasphemy* on the Article of his *Descent*, the ineffectuality of the blessed Sacraments (as to the power and vertue which the Antients did ascribe unto them) and many others of that nature, which are not to be found in all *S. Augustines Works*. Therefore the *Doctrine* of *S. Augustine* cannot be called by the name of *Calvinisme*.

In the year 1618, King James published Fol. 128. a Command or Declaration tolerating sports on the Lords day, called Sunday.] Our Author is now come to His Majesties Declaration about lawfull sports, being a reviver onely of a former Declaration published by

by King *James*, bearing date at *Greenwich*, May the 24th, in the sixteenth year of that Kings reign; in his discourse whereof there are many things to be considered: For first, he telleth us, *that many impetuous clamours were raised against it*, but he conceals the *motives* to it, and *restrictions* of it. And secondly, he telleth us that to satisfy and still those clamours, the Book was soon after *called in*, in which I am sure our Author is extremely out: that Book being never *called in*, though the execution of it (by the remissness of that Kings Government) was soon discontinued. Now for the *motives* which induced that King to this Declaration, they were chiefly four: 1. The generall complaints of all sorts of people as he passed through *Lancashire*, of the restraint of those innocent and lawfull Pastimes on that day, which by the rigour of some Preachers and Ministers of publick justice had been layd upon them. 2. The hinderance of the conversion of many *Papists*, who by this means were made to think that the *Protestant Religion* was inconsistent with all harmlesse and modest recreations. 3. That by debarring men from all manly Exercises on those dayes on which onely they were freed from their daily

daily labours, they were made unactive, and unable, and unfit for warres, if either Himself or any of His Successours should have such occasion to employ them. And 4. That men being hindred from these open Pastimes, betook themselves to Tippling Houses, and there abused themselves with Drunkenesse, and censured in their cups His Majesties proceedings both in Church and State. Next the *Restrictions* were as many: First, that these Pastimes should be no impediment or let to the publick Duties of the Day. Secondly, that no *Recusants* should be capable of the benefit of them. Nor thirdly, such as were not diligently present at all Divine offices which the day required. And fourthly, that the benefit thereof should redound to none but such as kept themselves in their own Parishes. Now to the *Motives* which induced King *James* to this Declaration, our Author adds two others which might move King *Charles* to the reviving of the same; That is to say, 1. The neglect of the *Dedication Feasts* of Churches in most places upon that occasion. And secondly, an inclination in many unto *Judaisme*, occasioned by a Book written by one *Brabourne*, maintaining the indispensable morality of the 4th Commandment,

ment, and consequently the necessary observation of the Jewish Sabbath. Though our Author tells us that this *Royall Edict* was *resented* with no small regret, yet I conceive the Subjects had great cause to thank Him for his Princely care, in studying thus to free their consciences from those servile yokes (greater than which were never layd upon the *Jewes* by the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*) which by the preaching of some Zealots had been layd upon them. But our Author is not of my mind, for he telleth us afterwards, that

Fol. 129. *The Divinity of the Lords day was new Divinity at Court*] And so it was by his leave in the Countrey too, not known in England till the year 1595, when Doctor Bound first published it in his Book of *Sabbath Doctrines*; nor in Ireland till just twenty years after, when it was thrust into the *Articles of Religion* then and there established; nor in Scotland till above twenty years after that, when the *Presbyterians* of both Nations layd their heads together for the subversion of this Church. So new it is, that as yet it cannot plead a *prescription* of threescore years, much lesse pretend to the beginning of our Reformation: for, if it could, we should have found some mention of it in
our

our *Articles*, or our *Book of Homilies*, or in the *Book of Common Prayer*, or in the *Statute 5 & 6 Edward VI.* about keeping Holy dayes, in the two first of which, we finde nothing at all touching the keeping of this day; and in the two last, no more care taken for the *Sundayes* than the other *Festivals*. But our Author still goeth on, and saith,

Which seemed the greater Prodigie that men who so eagerly cryed up their own Order and Revenues for Divine, should so much decry the Lords day from being such, when they had no other existence than in relation to this.] Here is a Prodigie indeed, and a Paradox too, that neither the Order nor Revenues of the *Evangelical Priesthood* have any existence, but in Relation to the Divinity of the Lords day. If our Author be not out in this, I am much mistaken. *S. Paul* hath told us of himself, that he was an *Apostle* not of men, neither by men, but by *Iesus Christ* and God the Father: And what he telleth us of himself, may be said also of the twelve *Apostles*, and the seventy *Disciples*, ordained by Christ to preach the *Gospel*, and to commit the like power to others from one generation to another till the end of all things. *S. Paul* pleads also very strongly for the

Ibid.

Divine right of Evangelicall maintenance to them that laboured in the publick Ministerie of the Church, concluding from that saying in the Law of Moses, viz: Thou shalt not muzzle the Oxe which treads out the corn, and from the maintenance of the Priest which served at the Altar, that such as preached the Gospel should live by the Gospel. And he pleads no lesse stoutly for the right of Tithes, where he proves our Saviour Christ to be a Priest after the order of Melchisedeck, from Melchisedecks receiving Tithes of Abraham, or rather from this Tithing of Abraham, as the Greek importeth. And yet I trow the Lords day Sabbath had no such existence, and much lesse such Divinity of existence, as our Author speaks of, when both the Order and Revenue of the sacred Ministry had a sure establishment, as much Divine right as our Saviour and the holy Apostles could confer upon them. Our Author now draws towards an end, & for our further satisfaction referreth us to something else, and that something to be found elsewhere, concluding thus,

Ibid.

But of this elsewhere.] And indeed of this there hath enough been said elsewhere to satisfie all learned and ingenious men, both in the meaning of the Law, and
in

in point of practise, so that to speak more of it in this place and time, were but to light a Candle before the Sun. All I shall further adde is this, that if the *Rules* and *Principles* of the *Sabbatarians* must needs passe for currant, I cannot see by the best light of my poor understanding, but that *Brabournes* Book may be embraced with our best affections; and that *obscure* and *ignorant School-Master* (as our Author calls him) must be cryed up for the most *Orthodox Divine* which this *Age* hath bred.

And was after styled Duke of Yorke.]
Our Author here accommodates his style to the present times, when the *Weekly Pamphlets* give that Prince no other Title than the *Titulary Duke of Yorke*, the *pretended Duke of Yorke*, the *Duke of Yorke so styled*, as our Author here. It is true indeed the second Son of *England* is not born to the Dukedome of *Yorke*, as the first is unto the Titles and Revenuss of the Dukedome of *Cornewall*, but receives that Title by Creation: and though the King did cause this second Son to be styled onely *Duke of Yorke* when he was in his cradle, yet afterwards He created and made him such by *Letters Patents* under the *Great Seal* of *England* in due form of
L^{ty} I 3 The

Ibid.

Ibid.

The four Innes of Court presenting both their Majesties at Whitehall with a gallant Masque, as a symbole of their joynt affections.] The Innes of Court used formerly to divide themselves in the like solemnities, *Lincolns Inne* joyning with one of the *Temples*, and *Graies Inne* with the other, but now they all united upon this occasion. One *William Pryune* an Utter Barreter of *Lincolns Inne* had writ a Book (somewhat above 2 year before) called *Histrion Mastix*, intended purposely against *Stage Playes*, but intermixed with many bitter and sharp *Invectives* against the solemn *Musick* used in the *Cathedrals* and *Royal Chappels*, against the magnificence of the Court in *Masques* and *Dancings*, against the *Hospitality* of the *English Gentry* in the *Weeks of Christmas*, and indeed what not? In which were also many passages scandalous and dishonourable to the King and Queen, and such as seemed dangerous also to their sacred Persons: For which, an *Information* being brought against him in the *Starre-Chamber* by Master *Noye* then *Attorney-Generall*, and the Cause ready to be sentenced, it seemed good unto the Gentlemen of the four Innes of Court to present their Majesties with a Masque, thereby to let

let their Majesties and the People see how little *Prynne* his infection had took hold upon them. A pompous and magnificent shew it seemed, as it passed the Streets, but made more glorious by a long traine of Christian Captives, who having been many yeares enslaved in the chains of bondage, were sent for a present to the King, by the *Heriffe* or Emperour of *Morocko*, in testimony of the assistance received from him, in the taking of *Salla*, and destroying that known nest of Pyrates, effected specially by the benefit and advantage of his Majesties Ships. An action of so great honour to the *English* Nation, of such security to trade, and of such consequence for settling of a free commerce in those parts of Christendom, that I wonder why our Author takes no notice of it.

The Kings Dominion in the Narrow Seas was actually usurped by the Holland Fishers, and the right is selfe in good earnest disputed by a late tract of Learned Grotius called Mare Liberum.] Our Author might have added here that this discourse of *Grotius* was encountred not long after by a learned Tract of *Mr. Seldens*, which he entituled *Mare Clausum*. In which he did not onely assert the Sovereignty or Do-

Fol. 130.

minion of the British Seas to the Crown of England, but cleerly proved by constant and continuall practise, that the Kings of England used to levie money from the Subjects (without help of Parliament) for the providing of ships and other necessaries to maintain that Sovereignty, which did of right belong unto them. This he brings down unto the time of K. Hen. 2d, and might have brought it neerer to his own times, had he been so pleased, and thereby paved a plain way to the payment of Ship-money, but then he must have thwarted the proceedings of the House of Commons in the last *Parliament*, (wherein he was so great a stickler) voting down under a kinde of *Anathema* the Kings pretensions of right to all help from the *subject*, either in *Tonage* or *Poundage*, or any other wayes whatsoever, the Parliament not co-operating and contributing toward it. For that he might have done thus we shall easily see by that which followeth in our Author, viz.

Fol. 131.

Away goes the subtle Engineer; and at length from old Records progs and bolts out an antient Precedent of raising a Tax upon the whole Kingdom for setting forth a Navy in case of danger.] Our Author speaks this of Mr. Noye the Attorney Generall, whom he

he calls afterwards a most indefatigable *Plodder and Searcher of old Records*, and therefore was not now to be put to proging, (a very poor expression for so brave a man) to finde out any thing which might serve to advance this businesse. For the truth is, that a year or more before the coming out of the *Writs* for ship-money, he shewed the Author of these *Observations* (at his house near *Brentford*) a great wooden Box, wherein were nothing else but *Precedents* out of all *Records*, for levy-ing a *Navall aide* upon the Subjects by the sole authority of the King, whensoever the preservation and safety of the Kingdome did require it of them: And I remember well that he shewed me in many of those Papers, that in the same years in which the Kings had received *subsidies* in the way of Parliament, they levied this *Naval aide* by their own sole power; and he gave me this Reason for them both: For (saith he) when the King wanted any money either to support his own expences, or for the enlarging of his Dominions in Forreign Conquests, or otherwise to advance his honour in the eye of the world; good reason he should be beholding for it to the love of his people; but when the Kingdome was in danger,

and

and that the safety of the Subject was concerned in the businesse, he might, and then did raise such summes of Money as he thought expedient, for the preventing of the danger, and providing for the publick safety of himselfe and his. And I remember too, that *these Precedents* were written in little bits and shreds of paper, few of them bigger then ones hand, many not so big; which when he had transcribed in the course of his studies, he put into the coffin of a Pye (as he pleased to tell me) which had been sent him from his Mother, and kept them there untill the mouldinesse and corruptiblenesse of that wheaten Coffe had perished many of his papers. No need of *progging* or *bolting* to a man so furnished. But more of this Attorney we shall heare anon. In the meane time our Author telleth us, that

Ibid.

The King presently issued out Writs to all the Counties within the Realm &c. enioyning every County for defence of the Kingdome, to provide Ships of so many Tunne, &c.] Our Author is deceived in this, as in many things else. For in the first yeare of the payment of Ship-money, the Writs were not issued to all the Counties of England, as our Author telleth us, but onely

onely to the Maritime Counties, which lying all along the shore, were most exposed unto the danger of a forraign Enemy. But proof being had, that the preparations of that yeare were not great enough, for the ends intended in the next yeare, and not before; the like Writs issued out to all Counties in *England* (that is to say, *Anno 1636.*) the whole charge layed upon the subject upon that occasion, amounting to 236000*l.* or thereabouts, which being in lieu of all payments, came but to twenty thousand pounds a month, and not fully that. *Nevertheless the King upon the Arch-Bishops intreaty, granted them exemption.*] I never heard that any such exemption was desired by the Clergy, but sure I am, that no such exemption was ever granted, it being as great an indiscretion in them to seek it, as it would have been a hinderance to the publick service, if they had obtained it. The favour which the Arch-Bishop procured for them, was no more then this, that on complaint made by some of the *Clergy*, how unreasonably they were rated by their neighbours, some of them at a sixt, some at a fourth part of the Taxe, which had been layed upon the Parish; he obtained Letters from the
King,

King, to all the *Sheriffes* of England, requiring that the Clergy possessed of Parsonages, should not be taxed above a tenth part of the Land-rate of their severall Parishes; and that consideration should be had of Vicars accordingly. Which though it were a great and a royall favour (such as became a nursing Father of the Church) yet was it no *exemption*, as our Author calls it, unlesse he meaneth an *exemption* from the Arbitrary power of covetous and malicious neighbours, as indeed it was. But our Author goes back to the Attorney, of whom he telleth us, that

Ibid.

He became an eminent instrument both of good and ill (and of which most, is a great question) to the Kings Prerogative.] I thinke no question need be made in this particular. The *Ship money* had as faire a triall in the Courts of *Westm.* as any Cause that ever came before those Judges. And as for other projects, and Court suites, he used first to consult the Law, the Kings Honour, and the publick good, before he would passe any of them; insomuch that he was more cursed by the Courtiers (I speake this on my certaine knowledge) for dashing some of their designs, and putting many difficulties upon others of them,

them, then any man can possibly imagine of a publick Minister. And whereas our Author telleth us in that which followeth, that he was drawn into the Kings service by the *lure* of *advancement*, I am confident on the other side, that it was rather a contemplation of doing his duty to the King, then any thought of advancement by it, which drew him to accept that office, so much sought by others: in managing whereof, he declined so much private business to attend the King, and attended that with such an eye to his Masters honour, that I may very safely say, he did not gaine so much in the whole time of his service, as his Predecessors, or Successors did after, in any one yeare of their imployment.

But in regard he came without Credentiall Letters from the Queen of Sweden, he denied him audience, Whereupon he returned in some disgust. Fol. 132.] In this short passage there are more mistakes then lines. For first, it is not likely that young Oxenstjerne (whom he speakes of) came without *Credentiall Letters*, being treated as he was in the quality of an Embassador, which without such Letters had not been. Secondly, I am sure that he had a publick and solempne audience, my curiosity carrying

rying me to the Court that day, not so much to see the Formalities of such Receptions (to which I could not be a stranger) as to behold the Son of so wise a Father, who had so long, with so much prudence and success conducted the affairs of the Crown of Sweden. Thirdly, If he departed in some *disgust*, (as by accepting of a rich Ring from King Lewis of France, and refusing a present of better value, offered by King Charles, it was thought he did) it was not because he was denied a publick audience, but because he had proposed some things to the King, for carrying on the war in Germany, in behalfe of the Swedes, which the King thought not fit to consent unto, being then in hopes of some accommodation to be made with the Emperor touching the *Palatinate*.

Ibid.]

At the same time there was also a Synod assembled, wherein the bodie of Articles formed by that Church, Anno 1615. were repealed, and in their places were substituted the 39. Articles of the Church of England, intending to create an uniformity of belife between both Churches.] And certainly the designe was pious, and the reasons prevlent; first in relation to the Papists, who made great aime at it, that in the Churches

Churches of three Kingdomes, united all under one chiefe Governour, there should be three severall and distinct (and in some points contrary) *Confessions*, yet all pretending unto one and the same *Religion*; next in relation to the *Puritanes*, who in the controverted points about Predestination, and the Lords-day-Sabbath, when they had nothing else to say, did use to fly for refuge to the *Articles* of the Church of *Ireland*, where the Predestinarian Doctrines, and Sabbatarian speculations had found entertainment; and these, and none but these found themselves grieved and troubled at the alteration. Nor was this alteration made by the hand of power, but the power of reason. The matter being canvassed and debated in the Convocation there, before it was put unto the vote; and being put unto the vote (notwithstanding the strong interposition of the Lord *Primate* of *Armagh*) was carried by the farre greater part of voyces for the Church of *England*.

But all the service they did this Summer Fol. 136. was inconsiderable, in regard they never came to engagement; only their formidable appearance secured the Seas from those *Petit Larcenies* and *Piracies* where-with they were formerly so molested.] Had this

this been all, their *service* had been very *considerable*; the clearing the Sea of Pyrates being of so great benefit and consequence to the trade, and flourishing of this Kingdome. For by this meanes, and the well-settled peace which we had at home, the greatest part of the wealth, in these parts of Christendome, was carryed up the *Thames*, and managed in the City of *London*. But this was not all. The King by this *Formidable appearance* (as our Author calls it) regained the Dominion of the Sea, which had been lately hazarded, if not wholly lost: insomuch as the King of *Spaine* thought it his best and safest way, to send the money designed for the payment of his Armies in *Flanders*, in the Ships of English Merchants onely. By meanes whereof, there was brought yearly into *England*, between 2 & 3 hundred thousand pound in uncoyned *Bullion*, which being minted in the *Tower*, was no small benefit to the King by the Coynage of it, and no lesse benefit to the City and the Kingdome generally, in regard the greatest part thereof was stil kept amongst us in lieu of such manufactures, and native commodities of this Land, as were returned into *Flanders*, for the use of that Army. And yet this was not all
the

the service which they did this Summer: The *French* and *Hollanders* had entred this year into a Confederacy to rout the King of *Spaine* out of all the *Netherlands*, in which it was agreed amongst other things, that the *French* should invest *Dunkirk* and the other parts of *Flanders*, with their Forces by Land, whilst the *Hollanders* did besiege them with a Fleet at Sea, that so all passages into the Countrey being thus locked up, they might the more easily subdue all the *Inland* parts. And in all probability the designe had took effect in this very year, the King of *Spaine* not being able to bring 8000 men into the field, and leave his Garrisons provided; the people of the other side being so practised on by the *Holland* Faction, that few or none of them would Arm to repulse the *French* Enemies. But first the formidable appearance of the *English* Fleet, which dislodged the *Hollanders* before *Dunkirk*, and then the insolencies of the *French* at *Diest* and *Tillemont*, did so incourage and inflame the hearts of the people, that the Armies both of the *French* and *Hollanders*, returned back again without doing any thing more than the wasting of the Countrey. And was not this (think we) a considerable piece of service also? Lastly, I am to tell

our Author, that it was not the Earle of Northumberland, (as he tells us some lines before) but the Earle of *Lyndsey* which did command the Fleet this Summer, Anno 1635. The Earle of Northumberland not being in Commission for this service till the year next following, when all the Counties of the Realm were engaged in the charge.

Fol. 137. So as the Kings discretion was called in to part the fray by the committing the Staffe of that Office into the hands of William Juxton Lord Bishop of London, March the 6th, who, though he was none of the greatest scholars, yet was withall none of the worst Bishops.] Our Author still fails in his intelligence, both of men and matter. For, first the occasion of giving the Office of Lord Treasurer to the Bishop of London, was not to part a fray between the Archbishop and the Lord Cottington, who never came to such immoderate heats, as our Author speaks of; but upon very good considerations and reasons of State: for, whereas most of the Lord Treasurers of these latter times had rather served themselves by that Office than the King in it, and raising themselves to the Estates and Titles of Earles, but leaving the two Kings more incumbred with debts and
wants

wants than any of their Predecessors had been known to be; it was thought fit to put the Staffe of that Office into the hands of a Church-man, who having no Family to raise, no Wife and Children to provide for, might better manage the *Incomes* of the *Treasury* to the Kings advantage than they had been formerly: and who more fit for that employment (among all the Clergie) than the Bishop of *London*, a man of so well-tempered a disposition as gave exceeding great content both to Prince and people; and being a dear friend of the Archbishops, who had served the whole year as Commissioner in that Publick trust, was sure to be instructed by him in all particulars which concerned the managing thereof. But whereas our Author tells us of him, *that he was none of the greatest scholars*, I would faine learn in what particular parts, either of Divine or Humane Learning our Author reckons him defective; or when our Author sate so long in the *Examiners Office*, as to bring the poor Bishop unto this discovery. I know the man, and I know also his abilities as well in Publick Exercises as Private Conferences, to be as farre above the censure of our *Aristarchs* as he conceives himself to be above

such an ignorant and obscure School-Master as *Theophilus Brabourne*. It is true, he sets him off with some commendation of a calm and moderate spirit, and so doth the Lord *Faulkland* too, in a bitter Speech of his against the Bishops, *Anno 1641*, where he saith of him, *That in an unexpected place and power he expressed an equall moderation and humility, being neither ambitious before, nor proud after, either of the Crozier or white Staffe.* But there are some whom *Tacitus* calls *Pessimum inimicorum genus*, the worst kinde of Enemies, who under colour of commending, expose a man to all the disadvantages of contempt or danger.

Ibid.

The Communion Table which formerly stood in the midst of the Church or Chancel, he enjoyned to be placed at the East end, upon a graduated advance of ground with the ends inverted, and a wooden traverse of railes before it.] Of placing the Communion Table with the ends inverted, we are told before *Anno 1628*, and if it were then introduced, and so farre in practise that notice could be taken of it by the Committee for Religion, no reason it should now be charged on the Archbishop as an Act of his. But granting it to be his Act (not to repeat any thing of that which was said before

before in justification of those Bishops who were there said to have done the like) we doubt not but he had sufficient authority for what he did in the transposing of the Table to the Eastern wall. The King by the advice of his *Metropolitan*, hath a power by the Statute, 1 *Eliz.* c. 2. on the hapning of any irreverence to be used by the Ceremonies or Rites of the Church, by misusing the Orders appointed in this Book, (namely, the *Book of Common Prayers*) to ordain and publish such further Rites and Ceremonies, as may be most for the advancement of Gods glory, the edifying of his Church, and the due reverence of Christs holy Mysteries and Sacraments. And certainly there had been so much irreverence done to the *Communion Table* standing unfenced as then it did in the middle of the *Chancell*, not onely by scribbling and sitting on it, as before was noted; but also by Dogs pissing against it (as of common course) and sometimes snatching away the Bread which was provided for the use of the blessed Sacrament; that it was more than time to transpose the holy Table to a place more eminent, and to fence it also with a rails to keep it from the like prophanation for the time to come. Nor did the *Archbishop* by so doing outrun autho-

rity, the King having given *authority* and approbation to it a year before the *Metropolitickall Visitation* which our Author speaks of. The Deane and Chapter of *S. Pauls* (as being *Ordinaries* of the place) had transposed the *Communion Table* in *Saint Gregoryes* to the upper end of the Chancel, and caused it to be placed *Altar-wise*; which being disliked by some few ordinary Parishioners, and an *Appeale* made from the Ordinary to the *Deane* of the *Arches*, the Cause was brought before the King, then sitting in his Privie Council, *Anno 1633.* who on the hearing of all parties, and the Reasons alledged on both sides, having first testified His dislike of all *Innovations*; He concludes at last, *That he did well approve, and confirmed the Act of the said Ordinary, and also gave commandment that if those few Parishioners before mentioned did proceed in their said Appeal, then the Dean of the Arches should confirm the said Order of the aforesaid Deane and Chapter.* Here was authority enough, as good authority for the Archbishop to proceed upon in his *Visitation*, as the *Prerogative Royall*, the new Statute of the Queen, and the old *Laws* of the Land could give him. This then was no *Anomalous Innovation* (as our Author calls it.)

it.) The King (it seems) thought otherwise of it , and so did all men studied in the Rules of this Church, and the practice of approved Antiquity who looked upon it as a *Renovation* of a *Rite* disused, not as an *Innovation* or *Introduction* of a new *Ceremonie* never used before: But sure our Author had forgotten when these words fell from him, what he said before, of the Remisse Government of Archbishop Abbot, the titular Archbishop, as he calls him there (but *Titular* in nothing so much as not doing the duties of his Office) of whom he tells us, *Fol. I 27. that by his extraordinary remissnesse in not exacting strict conformity to the prescribed Orders of the Church in point of Ceremonie, he led in such an habit of Inconformity, as the future reduction of those tender-conscienced men to long discontinued obedience was interpreted an Innovation.* But the Controversie is not onely managed betwixt our Author and himself, but as he telleth us afterward between Bishops and Bishops, for as he saith,

The Bishop of Lincolne published a Tract under a concealed name, positively asserting therein, that the holy Table antiently did in the Primitive times, and ought so in ours according to the Dictates of our Church, stand in

Ibid.

Gremio and Nave of the Quire.] The Tract here meant was called The Holy Table, name, and thing: in which the Bishop hath said much, but asserted little: Affirmations are no Proofs in Law, and multitudes of allegations falsified in themselves, and wrested to a contrary sense, make not one good Evidence; yet this is all we are to look for in the Bishops Book: It being not untruly said in the Answerers Preface, that he came armed into the field with no other Weapons than impudence, ignorance, and falsehoods. And to say truth, it can be no otherwise, when a man writes both against his science and his conscience, as we have very good cause to think this Bishop did. Look on him in the point of practise, and we shall finde the Communion Table placed Altar-wise in the Cathedral Church of Lincolne whereof he was Bishop, and in the Collegiate Church of Westminster of which he was Dean, and in the private Chappel of his House at Bugdon, in which last it was not only placed Altar-wise, but garnisht with rich Plate and other costly Utensils (one of his own words) in more than ordinary manner. Look on him in his letter to the Vicar of Grantham, and he tells him thus; that your Communion Table is to stand Altar-wise

wise, if you meane in that place of the Chancell, where the Altar stood, I thinke somewhat may be said for that, because the injunctions, 1559. did so place it; and I conceive it to be the most decent scituation, when it is not used, and for use too, where the quire is mounted up by steps, and open, so that he that officiates, may be seene and heard of all the Congregation. Nor writes he thus onely to that Vicar, but he allowes it in that Tract which my Author speakes of, both in Cathedrall Churches, and in the Kings Chappels, and in the Chappels of great men, which certainly have no more Law for it, then what the Archbishop had for placing it in the Parish Churches, which as the Bishop telleth the Vicar, are to be presided, by the formes in his Majesties Chappels, and in the Quires of their Cathedralls. If it be asked what moved the Bishop to stickle so stoutly in this businesse, it may be answered, that he loved to fish in a troubled water, that being a man which considered only his own ends, he went such wayes as most conduced to the accomplishing of the ends he aimed at. Being in Power and place at Court in the time of K. James, he made himself the head of the Popish Faction, because he thought the match with Spaine, which was then in treaty,

treaty, would bring not only a connivance to that Religion, but also a *Toleration* of it : And who more like to be in favour if that match went on, then such as were most zealous in doing good offices to the Catholick cause. But being by King *Charles* deprived first of the Great Seale, and afterwards commanded to retire from *Westminster*, he gave himselfe to be the head of the *Puritane* party, opposing all the Kings proceedings both in Church and State (and amongst others this of placing the *Communion Table*) to make himselfe gracious with that Sect, who by their sly practises and insinuations, and by the Remisse Government, and connivance of Archbishop *Abbot*, had gained much ground upon the people. If it be asked what authority I have for this, I answer, that I have as good as can be wished for, even our Author himselfe, who telleth us of this Bishop, *Fol. 145.* *That being malevolently inclined (by the Kings disfavours) he thought he could not gratifie beloved revenge better, then to endeavour the supplanting of his Sovereigne. To which end, finding him declining in the affections of his people, he made his Apostrophe, and applications to them, fomenting popular discourses tending to the Kings disho-*
nor,

now, &c. And being set upon this pinne, no mervaille if he entertained the present occasion of making the Archbishop odious, and the King himselfe lesse pleasing in the eyes of the Subjects. But of this Bishop, we may perhaps have some occasion to speak more hereafter. In the meane time we must follow our Author, who having done with the Archbishop, goes on to his *Instruments* (for so he calls them) in which he saith, *he was most unhappy*. Why so? because saith he,

They were not blamelesse in their lives, Fol. 138. some being vitious even to scandall.] Our Author needed not have told us in his Preface by the way of prevention, that he should be thought no friend to the *Clergy*; we should have found that here in such *Capitall Letters*, as any man that runs might read them. *Vitious even to scandall*? that goes high indeed, and it had well become our Author to have named the men, that so the rest of the *Clergy* might have been discharged of that foule reproach. For my part I have took some paines to inquire after such instruments and subordinate Ministers of the Archbishop, used in the time of his government, most of them men of great abilities in
lear-

learning, and though I think they were not *blamelesse in their lives* (as who can be that carrieth mortality about him) yet I cannot hear of any *vitious* persons taken into imployment by him, much lesse so *scandalously vitious*, as our Author makes them. Or were there such, it had been fitter for our Author (who desires to be accounted for a Son of the Church) to have played the part of *Sem* and *7aphet*, in finding the nakednesse of their *spirituall Fathers*; then to act the part of *Cham* and *Canaan*, in making Proclamation of it unto all the world. It was a pious saying of the Emperour *Constantine* (reported by *Theodoret, lib. I. cap. 11.*) that the offences of the Priests were to be hidden and concealed from the common people, *Ne illis assensu ad delinquendū reddantur audaciores*, lest else they should transgresse with the greater liberty. As for himselfe, so tender was he of the credit of his Clergy, that he used oftentimes to say, that found he any of them (which yet God prohibit) in the embraces of a Strumpet, *obtecturum se paludamento sceleratum facinus*, that with his owne Royal robes he would hide from vulgar eyes, both this offence, and the offender. A noble piety, the piety of *Sem* and *7aphet* in the former passage,

passage, and the Lord blessed him for it, and enlarged the Tents of his habitation, and Canaan, even the whole Countries of the *Gentiles became his servants*. From generalls our Author passeth on unto one particular, of whom he telleth us that

He was bold to say he hoped to live to see the day when a Minister should be as good a man, as any Jack Gentleman in England.]

Ibid,

This is a heavy charge indeed, the heavier in regard that the fault of this one man (if such men there were) must lay a brand of *Insolencie* on all the rest of the Clergy, thereby to render them obnoxious to the publick hatred. And though our Author hath not told us by name who this one man was, yet telling us that he was a *high Flyer*, and that this high Flyer was *deplumed*, he gives us some conjectures at the man he drives at, a man (I must confesse) of an undaunted spirit, and strong resolutions, but neither so intemperate in his words, or unwise in his actions, as to speak so contemptuously of the *English Gentry*. For first, we are not sure that such words were spoken, our Author offering no proof for it but onely his own word, or some vulgar *heare-say*; too weake a ground for such a heavy accusation to be built upon. But secondly, admitting that
such

such words were spoken, I hope our Author hath heard long since of an antient by-word, that every *Jack* would be a *Gentleman*; and therefore cannot choöse but know that there is a difference between a *Gentleman of Armes and Blood*, a true *English Gentleman* and such *Jack-Gentlemen*, as having got a little more wealth together than their next poor neighbours, take to themselves the name of *Gentlemen*, but are none indeed. And such *Jack-Gentlemen* as these, as they are commonly most like (either for want of wit, or of manners, or of both together) to vilifie their Minister, and despise the Clergie; so if the poor party said whatsoever he was, that he hoped to live to see the time, when a Minister should be as good a man as any *Jack-Gentleman* of them all, I hope the antient and true-*English Gentry* will not blame him for it. Our Author having thus arraigned the whole body of the *English Clergie*, that is to say, *Archbishops, Bishops*, and those of the inferiour Orders, is now at leisure to proceed to some other businesse; and having brought his Reader thorow the Disputes and Arguments about the *Ship-money*, he carrieth him on to the Combustions raised in *Scotland*, occasioned, as he telleth us, by

sending

sending thither a *Booke of Common Prayer* for the use of that Church.

Very little differing, as the King was unhappily perswaded by them from the English. Fol. 147.] The King needed no perswasion in this point, the difference between the two *Liturgies* (whether great or little) being known unto him, before He caused this to be published. Tis true, his first desire was, that the *English Liturgie* should be admitted in *Scotland* without any alteration, and to that end He gave order to the Dean of His Chappel in that Kingdome, about the middle of *October*, Anno 1633. that it should be read twice every day in the Chappel of His Palace in *Holyrood House*; that there should be Communiones administred according to the form thereof, once in every Moneth, the Communicants receiving it upon their knees; that the Lords of the Privie Council, the Officers of Justice and other persons of Publick trust about the Court, should diligently attend the same on the Lords dayes, and that he who officiated on those dayes, if he were a Bishop should weare his *Rochet*, but if an ordinary Minister onely he should weare the *Surplice*, and thus he did unto this end, that the people being made acquainted by little and

and little with the *English Liturgie*, might be the more willing to receive it in all parts of that Kingdome whensoever it should be tendred to them. But the *Scottish Bishops* being jealous that this might be an Argument of their dependance on the Church of *England*, and finding that the *Psalmes*, the *Epistles* and *Gospels*, and other sentences of Scripture in the *English Booke*, being of a different Translation, from that which King *James* had authorized to be read in the Churches of both Kingdomes. had given offence unto that people, desired a *Liturgie* of their own: and that they might have leave to make such alterations in the *English Book*, as might entitle it peculiarly to the Church of *Scotland*: which Alterations being made and shewed to the King, he approved well of them; in regard that coming nearer to the first *Liturgie* of *K. Edward* the sixt in the Administration of the Lords Supper, (and consequently being more agreeable to the antient Forms) it might be a means to gain the *Papists* to the Church, who liked farre better of the first than the second *Liturgie*.

Ibid.

July 23. being Sunday, the Deane of *Edinborough* began to read the Booke in *S. Gyles Church*, the chief of that City, &c.]

Our

Our Author here doth very well describe the two Tumults at *Edinburgh* upon the reading of the Book, but he omits the great oversights committed by the King and the Lords of that Councel, in the conduct and carriage of the businesse. For had the Book been read in all the Churches of *Scotland* upon Easter day, as was first intended, it had in probability prevented these tumultuous Riots, which the respite of it for so long gave those which had the hatching of this Sedition, both time enough to advise, and opportunity enough to effect at last: or had the King caused the chief Ring-leaders of this Tumult to be put to death, according to the Lawes of that Kingdome, as soon as justice cou'd have layed hold on them, He had undoubtedly prevented all further dangers: The drawing of some blood in the Body politic by the punishment of Malefactors, being like letting blood in the Body-naturall, which in some strong distempers doth preserve the whole. Or finally, if the Tumult had been grown so high, and so strongly backed, that justice could not safely be done upon them, had the King then but sent a Squadron of the Royall Navy, which He had at Sea, to block up their Haven, He had soon

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brought the *Edinburghers* unto His *Devotion*, and consequently kept all the rest of that Kingdome in a safe obedience. But the *Edinburghers* knew well enough whom they had to deal with, what friends they had about the King, and what a party they had got in the Lords of His Councell which governed the affairs of that Kingdome; and they knew very well (none better) by the unpunishing of the *Londners* for the Tumult in the death of *Lamb*, that the King had rather *patience* enough to bear such indignities, than *resolution* to revenge them: So that the King at last was come to that misery which a good Author speaks of, *Cum vel excidenda sit natura, vel minuenda dignitas*: That he must either *outgoe* His nature, or *forgoe* His authority.

Fol. 150. The King nothing pleased with these affronts, yet studious to compose these surges of discontent, sent the Marquesse of Hamilton down in the quality of an high Commissioner, &c.] We are now come to the rest of the oversights committed in the conduct of this weighty businesse, whereof the first was, that having neglected to suppress the Sedition at the very first appearance of it, & to strangle that monster in the cradle, he had let a whole year pass with

without doing any thing, but sending one *Proclamation* after another, which being publicly encountred with contrary *Protestations*, did but increase their insolencies & his own disgraces; the party in the mean time being so well formed, that Pot-guns and such Paper-pellets were able to doe no good upon them. The second was, that when it had been fitter for the preservation of his authority to send a Lord General in the head of an Army, for the reducing of that Kingdome by force of Armes, He rather chose to send an high Commissioner to them, to sweeten the distempers and compose the differences; which could not be, but by yeilding more on his side, then he was like (by any faire *imparlance*) to obtain from that. Thirdly, that when he was resolved on an high Commissioner, he must pitch on *Hamilton* for the man, whom he had such reason to distrust, as before was hinted; but that the old *Maxime* of the Lenoxian Family, (of being deceived rather than distrustfull) was so prevalent with him. And thus he did against the opinion and advice of many of the Lords of that Kingdome, that is to say, the Earle of *Sterling* principall Secretary of State, the Bishops of *Rosse* and *Breken* privie Counsellors both,

Sir Robert Spotswood Lord President of the Colledge of Justice, and Sir John Hay Clerke-Register (or Master of the Rolls as we call him here.) These having secret intimation that *Hamilton* was designed for this great Employment, came in Post to *London*, indeavouring to perswade the King to change his purpose, and commending *Huntley* for that service, who being a man of greatest power in the North of *Scotland*, and utterly averse from the *Covenanters* and the rest of that Faction, was thought by them the fittest man for that undertaking. But the King fatally carried on to his own destruction, would not hearken to it, and hereunto the Duke of *Lenox* did contribute some weak assistance, who being wrought on by the *Scots* of *Hamiltons* Faction, chose rather that the old Enemy of his House should be trusted with the managing of that great affaire, than that a Countrey Lord (as the Courtiers of that Nation called him) should carry the honour from them both.

Ibid.

June the sixt, his Commission was read and accepted him.] And well it might, it was the fish for which he had so long been angling : For, having lost the *Scotish* Army, raised for the aide of the King of
Sweden

Sweden without doing any thing, and no occasion being offered to advance another, he fell upon more secret and subtile practises to effect his ends: First, drawing all the *Scots* which were about the Court of *England* to be his Dependants, and rest at his devotion wholly: and next by getting himselfe a strong partie in that Kingdome, whose affections he had means enough to restraine and alienate from the King, and then to binde them to himself, insomuch as it was thought by the wisest men of both Nations, that the first Tumult at *Edinburgh* was set on by some of his *Instruments*, and that the *Combustions* which ensued, were secretly fomented by them also. And this was made the more probable by his carriage in that great trust of the high Commissioner, thus procured for him; drawing the King from one condescension to another in behalf of the Covenanters, till he had little more to give but the Crown it self: For first he drew him to suspend, and after to suppress the Book of Common Prayers, and therewithall the *Canons* made not long before for the use of that Church; next the five *Articles* of *Perth*, procured with so much difficulty by King *James*, and confirmed in Parliament, must be also

abrogated ; and then the *Covenant* it self (with some little alterations in it) must be authorized, and generally imposed upon all that Kingdome : And finally, the calling of an Assembly must be yeilded to, in which he was right well assured, that none but Covenanters should have voices, that not Lord Bishops only should be censured and excommunicated, but the Episcopacie it self abolished, and all the Regular and Loyall Clergie brought to utter ruine. By all which Acts (I cannot say of *grace*, but) of condescension, the Marquesse got as much in *grosse*, as His Majesty lost in the *retails*, making himself so strong a partie in that Kingdome, that the King stood but for a *Cipher* in the calculation. All being done from that time forwards (especially when the first shewes of a Warre were over) as *Hamilton* either did contrive or direct the bu-
 finesse : For the Covenanters having got all this, thought not this enough, unlesse they put themselves in Armes to make good their purchases ; and having therein got the first start of the King, the King could doe no lesse than provide for himself, and to Arm accordingly. In order whereunto our Author telleth us that

Because

Because it was the Bishops warre, he *Fol. 158.* thought it requisite they should contribute largely toward the preservation of their own Hierarchy.] I am sorry to see this passage have our Authors penne, whom I should willingly have accompted for a true Son of the Church of England, were it not for this, & some other passages of this nature, which favour more of the *Covenanter*, then the *English Protestant*. It is true, the *Covenanters* called it the *Bishops warre*, and gave it out, that it was raised onely to maintaine the *Hierarchy*, but there was little or no truth in their mouthes the while, for the truth is, that though *Liturgy* and *Episcopacy* were made the occasions, yet they were not the causes of this Warre; Religion being but the vizard to disguise that businesse, which *Covetousnesse*, *Sacriledge*, and *Rapine* had the greatest hand in. The Reader therefore is to know, that the King, being engaged in a Warre with *Spaine*, and yet deserted by those men, who engaged him in it, was faine to have recourse to such other waies of assistance as were offered to him: And amongst others, he was minded of a purpose which his Father had, of revoking all such grants of *Abbey-Lands*, the *Lands* of *Bishopricks* and

Chapters, and other Religious Corporations; which having been vested in the Crown by Act of Parl. were by that Kings Protectors, in the time of his minority, conferred on many of the Nobility and Gentry to make them sure unto the side, or else by a strong hand of power extorted from him. Being resolved upon this course, he intends a Parliament in that Kingdome, appoints the Earl of *Niddisdale* to preside therein, and arms him with Instructions for passing of an Act of Revocation accordingly, who being on his way as farre as *Barwick*, was there informed that all was in a Tumult at *Edenbrough*, that a rich Coach which he had sent before to *Dalkeith* was cut in pieces, the poor Horses killed, the people seeming onely sorry that they could not doe the like to the Earle himselfe. Things being brought unto this stand, and the Parliament put off with a *sine die*, the King was put to a necessity of some second Councels; amongst which none seemed so plausible and expedient to him, as that of Mr. *Archibald Achison* then Procurator or solicitor generall in that kingdome, who having first told the King that such as were estated in the lands in question, had served themselves so well by the bare nam-

ming

ming of an Act of *Revocation*, as to possess the people (whom they found apt to be inflamed on such suggestions) that the true intendment of that Act, was to *revoke* all former Acts for suppressing of *Popery*, and setting the *reformed* Religion in the *Kirk* of *Scotland*; and therefore that it would be very unsafe for his Majesty to proceed that way. Next he advised, that instead of such a general *Revocation* as that Act imported, he should implead them one by one, beginning first with those, whom he thought least able to stand out, or else most willing to conform to his Majesties pleasure; assuring him, that having the *Lawes* upon his side, the Courts of Justice must, and would passe judgement for him. The King resolved upon this course, sends home the Gentleman, not onely with thanks and Knighthood (which he had most worthily deserved) but with instructions and power to proceed therein: and he proceeded in it so effectually to the Kings advantage, that some of the *impleaded* parties being lost in the suite, and the rest seeing that though they could raise the people against the King, they could not raise them against the *Lawes*, it was thought the best and safest way to compound

pound the businesse. Hereupon in the yeare 1631. Commissioners are sent to the Court of *England*, and amongst others, the Learned and right Noble Lord of *Marcheston* (from whose mouth I had this whole relation) who after a long treaty with the King, did agree at last, that all such as held hereditary Sherifdomes, or had the power of life and death over such as lived within their jurisdiction, should quit those royalties to the King; that they should make unto their Tenants in their severall Lands, some permanent Estates, either for three lives, or one and twenty yeares, or some such like Terme, that so the Tenants might be encouraged to build and plant, and improve the Patrimony of that Kingdome; that they should double the yearly rents which were reserved unto the Crown by their former grants, and finally that these conditions being performed on their parts, the King should settle their Estates by Act of Parliament. Home went the Commissioners with joy for their good successe, expecting to be entertained with *Bells* and *Bont-fires*, but they found the contrary; the proud *Scots* being resolved rather to put all to hazard, than quit that power and Tyranny, which they had over their poor
vas-

vassalls, by which name (after the manner of the *French*) they called their Tenants. And hereunto they were encouraged under-hand, by a party in *England*, who feared that by this agreement the King would be so absolute in those Northern Regions, that no aide could be hoped from thence, when the necessity of their designes might most require it : Just as the *Castilions* were displeased with the conquest of *Portugall*, by King *Philip* the second, because thereby they had no place left to retire unto, when either the Kings displeasure, or their disobedience should make their owne Countrey too hot for them. From hence proceeded that ill blond which the King found amongst them, when he went for that unlucky Crowne; from hence proceeded the seditious Libell of the Lord *Balmerino*, which our Author speakes of, the greatest part of whose Estate was in Abby-Lands; From hence proceeded all the practises of the great ones on that busie Faction, principled onely for the ruine and destruction of Monarchies; and finally from hence proceeded the designe of making use of discontented and seditious spirits (under colour of the *Canons* and *Common-Prayer Book*, to embroyle that King.

Kingdome, that so they might both keep their Lands, and not lose their Power; the Kings Ministers all this while looking mildly on, or acting onely by such influences as they had from *Hamilton*, without either care or course taken to prevent those mischiefs, which afterwards ensued upon it. But from the Ground, proceed we to the Prosecution of the Warre intended, concerning which, our Author telleth us that

Fol. 159. The King had amast together, considerable power, whereof the Earle of Arundel had the chiefe conduct.] And so he had, as to the command of all the Forces which went by Land, the Earl of Essex being Lieutenant Generall of the Foot, & the E. of Holland of the Horse. But then there were some other forces embarked in a considerable part of the Royall Navy, with plenty of Coine and Ammunition, which were put under the command of *Hamilton* (the King still going on in his fatall over-sights) who anchoring with his Fleet in the Frith of *Edenberourgh*, and landing some of his spent men, in a little Island, to give them breath and some refreshments, received a visit from his Mother, a most rigid *Covenanter*. The Scots upon the shore saying with no small laughter,

laughter, that they knew the Son of so good a Mother, could not doe them hurt. And so it proved, for having loytered thereabouts to no purpose, till he heard that the Treaty for the Pacification was begun neer Barwick, he left those shores, and came in great Post-haste, as it was pretended, to disturb that businesse, which was to be concluded before he came thither. But this vile dealing makes me Sea-sick, I returne to Land, where I finde that

All the preparation both of one side, and the other, proved onely an interview of two Armies, nothing being acted considerable in way of Engagement.] That so it was, is a truth undoubted, but how it came to passe that it should be so, would be worth a knowing. For never did so many of the Lords and Gentry attend a King of England, in an expedition against that people, nor never did they carry with them a greater stock of *Animosities*, and indignation, then they did at this present. But first, I have been told by some wise and understanding men about the King, that he never did intend to fight (as they afterwards found) but onely by the terror of so great an Army, to draw the Scots to doe him reason: And this the Cove-

Ibid.

Covenanters knew as well as he, there being nothing which he said, did, or thought (so farre as thoughts might be discovered by signes and gestures) but what was forthwith posted to them by the Scots about him. And this I am the more apt to credit, because when a notable and well experienced Commander offered the King then in *Camp* neer *Barwick*, that with two thousand Horse (which the King might very well have spared) he would so waste and destroy the Countrey, that the Scots should come upon their knees to implore his mercy: He would by no meanes hearken to the Proposition. Nor were the Lords and persons of most note about him, more forward at the last then he. For having given way that the Earles of *Roxborough* and *Traquair*, and other Nob's men of that Nation might repair to *Yorke*, for mediating some atonement between the King and his people, they plyed their businets so well, that by representing to the Lords of the English Nation, the dangers they would bring themselves into, if the Scots were totally subdued; they mitigated the displeasures of some, and so took off the edge of others, that they did not go from *Yorke*, the same men they
came

came thither, on the discovery of which practice, and some intelligence which they had with the *Covenanters*, the Earls of *Traquair* and *Roxborough* were confined to their Chambers (the first at *Yorke*, and the second at *New-Castle*) but presently dismissed againe, and sent back to *Scotland*. But they had first done the worke they came for, for never were men so sodainly cooled as the Lords of *England*, never did men make clearer shewes of an alteration by their words and gestures: in so much that the *Scottish Army* beginning to advance, and the Earl of *Holland* being sent with a great body of Horse to attend upon them, he presently sent word unto the King, in what danger he was, and how he stood in feare of being under-ridden (as I take it) by the *Galloway Naggs*, and thereupon received order to retire againe. No marvell if things standing in this condition, the King did cheerfully embrace any *overture* which tended to a *Pacification*; or did make choice of such persons to negotiate in it, who were more like to take such termes as they could get, then to fight it out. Amongst which termes, that which was most insisted on by the *Scotch Commissioners*, because it was most to their
advan-

Ibid.

advantage, and the Kings disabling, was
That he recall all his Forces by Land or Sea.] Which he did accordingly, and thereby lost all those notable advantages, which the gallantry of his Army, the greatness of his preparations both by Sea and Land, and the weaknesse of an inconsiderable Enemy, might assure him of. But he had done thus once before, that is to say, at the returning of his Forces and Fleet from *Rochel*, Anno 1628. at what time He was in no good termes with His Subjects, and in worse with His Neighbours, having provoked the *Spaniard* by the invading of the Isle of *Gadas*, and the *French* by invading the Isle of *Rhe*, which might have given Him ground enough to have kept his Army (and His authority withall) and when an Army once is up, it will keep it self; necessity of State ruling and over-ruling those Concessions and Acts of Grace, to which the Subjects may pretend in more settled times. But His error at this time was worse than that, the Combustions of *Scotland* being raised so high, that the oyle of *Graces* rather tended to increase, than to quench their flame. Had He recalled his Forces onely from the Shores and Borders of that Kingdoms (which is the most that He was bound to by

by the Pacification) till He had seen the Scots disbanded, their Officers cashiered, their Forts and Castles garrisoned with English Souldiers, and some good issue of the Assembly and Parliament to be held at Edinborough, He had preserved His honour among Forreigne Princes, and crushed those practices at home, which afterwards undermined His peace, and destroyed His glories. But doing it in this form and manner without effecting any thing which He seemed to Arme for, He animated the Scots to commit new insolencies, the Dutch to affront Him on His own shoares, and (which was worst of all) gave no small discontentment to the English Gentry, who having with great charge engaged themselves in this expedition out of hope of getting Honour to the King, their Countrey, and themselves by their faithfull service, were suddenly dismissed, not onely without that honour which they aimed at, but without any acknowledgment of their love and loyalty. A matter so unpleasing to them, that few of them appeared in the next years Army, many of them turned against Him in the following troubles, the greatest part looking on His successes with a carelesse eye as unconcerned in His affaires whether good

or evil. But from miscarriages in this Warre, I might passe next to a mistake which I finde in our Author concerning the antient way of constituting the *Scotish* Parliaments, of which he telleth us, that

Fol. 161. The King first named eight Bishops, then those Bishops chose eight Noble men, those Noble men chose so many Barons, and those the like number of Burgeses, &c.] Not altogether so as our Author hath it; for the King having first named 8. Bishops, and the Bishops named 8. Noble men, the Bishops and Noble men together chose 8. Commissioners for the Sherifidomes, and as many for the Boroughs or Corporations; which two and thirty had the Names of the Lords of the Aricles, and had the canvassing and correcting of all the Bills which were offered to the Parliament before they were put to the Vote.

Fol. 163. And perswaded His Majesty that the Cardinall of Richelieu would be glad to serve His Majesty or his Nephew, &c.] That the French Ambassadour did endeavour to perswade the King to that belief, I shall easily grant, but am not willing to believe that the King should be so easily perswaded to it; it being the opinion of most knowing men, that this Cardinal had a very great hand in animating the
Scots

Scots to such a height of disobedience, as we finde them in. And this may evidently appeare, first by a passage in our Author, Fol. 176. in which we finde from the intelligence of *Andreas ab Habernefield*, that the Cardinall sent his Chaplaine and Almoner, Mr. *Thomas Chamberlain*, a Scot by Nation, to assist the confederates in advancing the businesse, and to attempt all waies for exasperating the first heat, with order, not to depart from them, till (things succeeding as he wished) he might returne with good newes. Secondly, from the Letter, writ by the Lord London, and the rest of the Covenanters to the French King, first published in his Majesties lesser Declaration against the Scots, and since exemplified in our Author, Fol. 168. of which Letter they could hope for no good effect, but as the Cardinall should make way and provide meanes for it. Thirdly, by the report of a Gentleman (from whose mouth I have it) who being took Prisoner, and brought unto the Scottish Camp, immediatly after the fight near *Nuborne*, found there the Cardinalls Secretary in close consultation with the heads of the Covenanters; which after his restoring to liberty by the Treaty at *Rippon*, he declared to the King,

and offered to make it good upon his Oath. Fourthly, by the impossibility which the Cardinall found in his designs, of driving the *Spaniard* out of *Flanders*, and the rest of the *Netherlands*, unlesse the King was so disturbed and embroyled at home, that he could not help them: it being heretofore the great master-piece of the Kings of *England*, to keep the Scale even between *France* and *Spaine*, that neither of them being too strong for the other, the affaires of Christendome might be poized in the evener balance. Fifthly, by the free accesse, and secret conferences, which *Hamiltons* Chaplain had with *Con*, the Popes agent here, during such time as *Chamberlain* the Cardinalls Chaplain laboured to promote the businesse. Sixthly, Adde hereunto the great displeasure which the Cardinall had conceived against the King, for invading the Isle of *Rhe*, and attempting the relief of *Rockell*; and we shall finde what little reason the King had to be perswaded to any beliefe in Cardinall *Richelieu*, though the Embassador might use all his eloquence to perswade him to it.

Fol. 165 And had this presumptuous attempt of the
 . *Hollanders met with a King, or in times*
of another temper, it would not, it's like,
have

have been so silently connived at.] Most truly spoken, this action of the *Hollanders* being one of the greatest, and unsufferablest affronts, which ever was put by any Nation on a King of *England*. I have been told, that complaint being made of King *James*, of the barbarous Butchery at *Amboyna*, he fell into a terrible rage, throwing his Hat into the fire, and then stamping on it, and using all the signes of outrageous Passion; but when Time & Sleep had taken off the edge of his Fury, he told the Merchants who attended his answer, *That it was then no time to quarrell with the Hollanders*, of whom he hoped to make some use for restoring the *Palsgrave* to his lawfull Patrimony. King *Charles* might make the same answer on this new occasion, he had his head and his hands too, so full of the *Scots*, that he had no time to quarrell with the *Hollanders*, though certainly, if he had then presently turned his Fleet upon the *Hollanders*, (wherein, no question but the *Spaniard* would have sided with him) he had not onely rectified his honour, in the eye of the world, but might thereby have taught the *Scots* a better lesson of Obedience, then he had brought them to, by the great preparations which he made

against them. But this I look on in the *Hollanders*, as one of the Consequents or effects of the *Scottish darings*, for if the *Scots* who were his Subjects, durst be so bold as to baffle with him, why might not they presume a little on his patience, who were his confederates and Allies, in husbanding an advantage of so great a concernment; and having vailed his Crown to the *Scots* and *English*, why might he not vaile it to them his good friends and neighbours?

Fol. 167. At this close and secret Councell, December 5. it was agreed that his Majesty should call a Parliament to assemble, April the 13th.] This secret Councell did consist of no more then three, that is, the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and (who must needs be at the end of every businesse) the Marquesse of *Hamilton*. By these it was agreed, that the King should be moved to call a Parliament, the intimation of it to be presently made; but the Parliament it selfe not to be assembled till the middle of *April*. In giving which long intervall, it was chiefly aimed at, that by the reputation of a Parliament so neer approaching, the King might be in credit to take up Money, wherewith to put himselfe into

a posture of Warre, in case the Parliament should faile him ; but then the inconvenience was as great on the other side, that intervall of four Moneths time, giving the discontented party opportunity to unite themselves, to practice on the Shires and Burroughs, to elect such members, as they should recommend unto them, and finally, not onely to consult, but to conclude on such particulars, which they intended to insist on when they were assembled. And though it be extreame ridiculous for me to shoot my *Fooles-bable* in so great a businesse, in which such wise men did concur ; yet give me leave to speak those thoughts which I had of that advice from the first beginning, reckoning it alwaies both *unsafe* and *unseasonable*, as the times then were. I looked upon it as *unsafe*, in regard that the last Parliament being dissolved in so strange a rupture, the Closets of some Members searched, many of them Imprisoned, and some Fined, it was not to be hoped but that they would come thither with revengefull thoughts : and should a breach happen between them and the King, and the Parliament be dissolved upon it, as it after was, the breach would be irreparable, as indeed it proved. I looked upon it as un-

seasonable also, in regard that Parliaments had been so long discontinued, and the people lived so happily without them, that very few took thought who should see the next; and besides that, the neighbouring Kings and States beheld the King with greater veneration then they had done formerly, as one that could stand on his own leggs, and had scrwed up himselfe to so great power, both by Sea and Land, without such discontents and brabbles as his Parliaments gave him. But whatsoever it was in it selfe, either safe or seasonable, I am sure it proved neither to the men who advised the calling of it, unlesse it were to *Hamilton* onely, of which more hereafter.

Fol. 168, Yet the King was willing to allow them all the faire dealing he in honour could, hoping to gaine upon them by the sweetnesse of his carriage, but all would not doe.] And it is marvell he should hope it, there are some men of so untractable nature, *ut eorum superbiam frustra per modestiam et obsequium effugeris*, that neither modesty nor obsequiousnesse can get ground upon them. A Presbyterian and a Scot, are not won by favours, and he that doth endeavour t, doth but lose his labour. Nor could the King be ignorant, of the hard temper
of

of the men whom he had in hammering. I have been told that when the Archbishop of Saint *Andrews* came to take his leave of him, then setting forwards toward *Scotland*, he told him plainly, that by the long experience which he had of that Nation, for the space of sixty years and upwards, he knew them to be a people of so crosse a graine, that they were lost by favours, and gained by punishments; and therefore that he must not hope to win upon them by *faire dealing*, or by the *sweetnesse of his disposition*, as my Author termes it, but must resolve to reduce them to their duty, by such wayes of power, as God had then put into his hands. Which counsell, if the King had followed, when he was in the head of that gallant Army, the *Scots* being then so inconsiderable and so ill appointed, that they had not three thousand Musquets in all their Army (as I have been informed by persons of great worth and quality) he had then put an end both to their Insolencies, and his own great Troubles. And hereunto accordeth one of our modern wits in these following Verses.

Not Gold, nor acts of Grace, 'tis
 (Steel must tame
 The stubborn Scot; Princes that
 (would reclaim
 Rebels by yeilding, doe like him,
 (or worse,
 Who saddled his owne back to shame
 (his horse.

Ibid. They invited and procured to their service many Commanders from Holland, who still kept their places there, though such Officers as betook themselves to the Kings Employment, were instantly cashiered.] This was poor pay for so great a courtesie as the King had done them, by suffering them to beat the Spaniards on his owne coasts, under his protection, and being within the compasse of the Kings Chambers, as the Sea-men phrase it, but *naturale est odesse quem laeseris*: It is a naturall thing (saith Tacitus) to hate the man whom we once have wronged. Nor doe men thinke themselves safe for an injury done, but by disobliging the wronged party, from taking revenge, by heaping more injuries upon him. Nor was this all the injury which the *Hollanders* offered to the King in the course of this businesse.

They

They furnished the *Scots* with Armes and Ammunition to maintaine their Warre, and that too for the most part, (contrary to their wonted customes) without ready money. But the truth is, they had some reason to deale thus courteously with the *Scots*. It had been once their owne case, and so let them goe.

To which I answer, true it is, he had too much, and too long favoured the Romish Faction, but as upon what accompt it was he favoured them, is uncertaine.] Our Author here acquits the Archbishop from the *Popish Faith*, but leaves him under a suspicion of favouring the *Popish Faction*; which in a man who cannot tell on what accompt he favours it, may be thought uncharitable. But both King *James* and King *Charles* in severall Declarations, and in their severall Answers to Parliament Petitions give this reason for it; that is to say, that by shewing some favours to the *Papists* here, they might obtaine the like favours for such *Protestants* as lived in the Dominions of *Popish* Princes. And unto this, which was indeed the greatest motive unto those indulgencies, which had been granted to the *Papists* by those two Kings: another might be added in justification of the Archbishop, if he shewed any

Fol. 182.

any such favours to the *Popish Faction*, as he stands here charged with : which is, that seeing the *Puritans* grown so strong, even to the endangering of our Peace, both in Church and State, by the negligence and remisnesse of the former Government, he thought it necessary to shew some countenance to the *Papists*, that the ballance being kept even between the parties; the Church and State might be preserved (as indeed they were) in the greater safety. And this appeareth to be his chiefe inducement to it, in regard that when the *Protestant* party was grown strong enough, to stand and goe without such Crutches, he then declared himselfe openly against that *Faction*, as our Author ingenuously informeth us, in that which followeth.

Ibid.

He tampered indeed to 'introduce some Ceremonies bordering upon superstition, disused by us, and abused by them ; from whence the Romanists collected such a disposition in him to their Tenets, as they began to cry him up for their Proselite. In this passage there are many things to be considered, first that the Ceremonies which the Archbishop tampered to introduce , are not here said to be *superstitious*, but onely to border upon *superstition*. Secondly, that those

those Ceremonies are said to be *disused*, which shewes that they were *still in force*, though not *still in use*, as our Author telleth us of the Statute concerning Knight-hood. Thirdly, that these Ceremonies had been *abused by them* of the Church of Rome, and therefore being but abused, might lawfully be restored to the Primitive use, for *Abusus non tollit usum*, as the old rule is. Fourthly, that if the *Romanists* upon these presumptions cry him up for theirs, it was most ignorantly done, there being nothing which more tended to their destruction, then the introducing of some Ceremonies, which by late negligence were *disused*. And this was the opinion of the most understanding men amongst them. For I have heard from a person of known Nobility, that at his being at Rome, with a Father of the English College, one of the Novices came in, and told him with a great deale of joy, that the English were upon returning to the Church of Rome, that began to set up *Altars*, and to officiate in their Copes, to adorne their Churches, and paint the picture of the Saints in their Chancell windows. To which the old Father made reply with some indignation, that he talked like an ignorant Novice, that these proceedings

ceedings rather tended unto the ruin, then advancement of the Catholick Cause; that by this meanes the Church of *England* coming nearer to the antient usages, the Catholicks there would sooner be drawn off to them, then any more of that Nation would fall off to *Rome*.

Fol. 184. Whereof (that is to say, the Dissolution of the Parliament) many laid the blame upon the Bishop of Canterbury.] Though many laid the blame on him, yet all the blame was not laid on him, some part thereof being laid upon the Earl of *Strafford*, but on neither rightly: both of them avowing in their Answers to that part of their Charge in the following Parliament, that it was done by the generall vote of the Privie Councell, not a man dissenting. Certaine I am, that the Archbishop was so farre from having any such thoughts, on Munday morning, *May 4.* being the day before that unhappy accident, that he was taking care to provide some materialls in a businesse which concerned the Church, of which he was resolved to speake in the House of Peers, on the Wednesday following. Some say that this Dissolution was precipitated upon some intelligence, that the House of Commons meant that day to vote against

gainst the Warre with Scotland, then which there could be nothing more destructive to the Kings affaires. And it was probable enough that it was so meant. For first, the *Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdoms*, doth declare no lesse, where it is said, that *the People were like to close with the King*, in satisfying his desire of Money, but that withall they were like to blast their malicious designe against Scotland, they being very much indisposed to give any countenance to that Warre : And Secondly, we finde that House to be highly magnified in a *Scotish Pamphlet*, called the *Intentions of the Army*, for their pious zeale in crossing the intended Warre, and denying any countenance and assistance towards it. But whatsoever the truth is, most sure I am, that it was secretly muttered about the Court the night before, that *Hamilton* had prevailed with the King to dissolve the Parliament ; who playing (as he used to do) with both hands at once, did with the one, pull back the Commons by his party there, from all compliance with the King, and with the other thrust the King forwards to dissolve that meeting : that by this meanes the Kings affaires being more embroyled then they were before, he might confirme
the

the Scots, and confound the English, and thereby raise himselfe to the point he aimed at. A sad and unfortunate day it was, and the newes so displeasing unto the Author of these papers whosoever he be, that being brought him by a friend, whilst he was writing some dispatches, it so astonished him (though he had heard some inkling of it the night before) that suddenly the pen fell out of his hand, and long it was, before he could recollect his spirits to returne an answer: Having thus said, I should proceed from the dissolving of the Parliament, to the continuing of the Convocation; but I must first remove a block which lieth in my way: our Author telleth us that

Ibid.

This Archbishops Predecessour Penultimate, was Dr. Whitgift.] Whereas indeed it was not Dr. Whitgift, but Dr. Bancroft, who was the penultimate and last Predecessour saving one unto the Archbishop; Dr. Bancroft coming in between Whitgift and Abbot, as any who have looked into these affairs cannot choose but know:

Ibid.

This Convention was not more unhappily dissolved than another was continued. That is, as a witty Gentleman said well, a new Synod made of an old Convocation.] The witty Gentleman here meant was Sir Ed-

ward

ward Deering, who pleased himself exceedingly in one of his witty Speeches (but made withall good sport to most knowing men) in descanting on a *Synod* and a *Convocation*; the one being a Greek word, the other originally Latine, but both of the same sense and signification: A *Provinciall Synod*, being no other then a *Convocation* of the *Clergy* of the Provinces of *Yorke*, or *Canterbury*; and the *Convocation* of the *Clergy* of both Provinces together, being nothing else but a *National Synod*. So that it was the same *Synod*, and the same *Convocation* (call it which you will) as before it was, and not a new *Synod*, made of an old *Convocation*, as the witty Gentleman would have it. A Gentleman he was, more witty then wise, but more proud then either; one of sufficient Learning to adorne a Gentleman, but very ill imployed in disgracing the *Clergy*, considering that the most worthy of his Ancestors was of that Profession, and himselfe allyed unto it by some mixt relations. But see how ill this Gentleman sped with his too much wit, being the first that threw Dirt into the Face of the Archbishop, and preferred the first *Infermation* which was brought against him; he after flew so high in his commendati-

ons (in the Preface to his Book of Speeches) that neither *Heylyn* whom the *Scottish Pamphleters* (in their *Laudensium Autocataphris*) call his *Graces Herald*, nor *Pecklington*, nor *Dowe*, nor any of his own Chaplains, in any of their Speeches of him, or addressees to him, ever went so farre. Having propounded to the House in that *Witty Speech* which he made against the Canons and Convocation, that every one that had a hand in making those Canons, should come unto the Barre of the House of Commons with a Candle in one hand, and a Book in the other, and there give fire to his own Canons, he was so far from seeing it done, that on the contrary, he saw (within a little more then a twelve month after) the *Collection* of his witty Speeches condemned by that House unto the fire, and burnt in severall places by the *Publick Hang-man*. And finally, having in another of his witty Speeches defamed the Cathedralls of this Kingdoms, and that too with so foule a mouth, as if he had licked up all the filth of foregoing Libels, to vomit it at once upon them, he made it his earnest suit not long after to be Dean of *Canterbury*: which being denied him by the King, in a great discontent he returned to the Parliament, though he ought

thought good to put some other gloss upon it in his Declaration. But of this *Witty Gentleman* we said enough. Proceed we now unto our Author, who telleth us of this new-made *Synod*, that

By a new Commission from the King, it was impowered to sit still.] No such matter verily, the new Commission which he speaks of gave them no such power, The *Writ* by which they were first called, and made to be a *Convocation*, gave them power to sit ; and by that *Writ* they were to sit as a *Convocation*, till by another *Writ* proceeding from the like Authority they were dissolved and licensed to returne to their severall homes. The Commission, subsequent to that, gave them power to Act, to Propose, Deliberate and conclude upon such *Canons* and *Constitutions*, as they conceived conducive to the Peace of the Church. And such a Commission they had granted at their first assembling. But being there was a clause in that Commission, that it should last no longer, then during the Session of that Parliament ; and that the King thought good to continue the *Convocation*, till they had finished all those matters which they had in treaty : his Majesty gave order for a new Commission to be issued out of the

Ibid.

same tenour with the former, but to expire upon the signification of his Majesties pleasure. I have been told that it was some time, before some of the Members of the lower House of Convocation, could be satisfied in the difference between the *Writ*, & the *Commission*, though one of the company had fully opened and explained the same unto them: which being made known to the Archbishop, and by him to the King, it was proposed to the Lord Finch, Lord Keeper of the Great Seale, the Earle of Manchester, Lord Privie Seal, Sir Edward Littleton, chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir John Bankes Attorney Generall, Sir Robert Heath, and Sir Ralph Whisfield the Kings Serjeants at Law; who on the 10. of May, subscribed a paper with their hands, to this effect, *That the Convocation being called by the Kings Writ, was to continue till it were dissolved by the Kings Writ, notwithstanding the dissolution of the Parliament.* Upon the reading of this paper, in the lower House of Convocation, and the satisfaction thereby given to all contrary scruples, they went on to their business, not as a new Synod made of an old Convocation, (quoth the witty Gentleman) but as an old Synod armed with a new Commission. What they did

did there we shall see anon, but with what danger they sate there, I shall tell you now: The dissolving of the Parliament having bred such discontentments, some papers posted up by *Lilberne*, so inflamed the Apprentices, and the Riot upon *Lambeth House*, created such a terrour in the Members of the *Convocation*, that the King was faine to set a guard about *Westminster Abbey*, for the whole time of their sitting. Poor men, to what a distresse were they brought? in danger of the Kings displeasure if they rose, of the Peoples fury if they sate; in danger of being beaten up by Tumults while they were at the worke, of being beaten down by the following Parliament, when the worke was done; and after all, obnoxious to the lash of censorious tongues for their good intendments. For notwithstanding their great care, that all things might be done *with decency, and to edification*, every one, even our Author himself, must have his blow at them. And first, he strikes at the Oath enjoyned in the sixt Canon, for prelervation of the *Doctrine* and *Discipline* of the Church here by Law established. But to make sure worke of it, that the blow may come home indeed, he prepares his way with a discourse a-

[*Ibid.*

gainst Episcopacy it selfe, for maintenance whereof (amongst other things) that Oath was framed, telling us positively, that

Bishops and Presbyters in Scripture phrase are of equivalent import, and denote the selfesame persons without the least distinction. They whom Holy Text calls Bishops, having an Identity, a samenesse of Name, of Ordination, of Office, of all qualifications necessary to that Office, with Presbyters.] I have heard that when Cornelius Burges, was to goe out Doctor, he would needs take upon him to answer the Divinity A^Q; but did it so unluckily, and with such a plentifull want of understanding in the termes of *Logick*, that Doctor *Prideaux* said openly to him, *Tu possis bene predicare, sed non potes bene disputare*, that he might possibly be a good *Preacher*, though he were but a very sorry *Disputant*. The like may be said of our Author also, when he plaies the Historian, in relating of such things, as are built upon good intelligence, he doth it very well, few better; but when he comes to shew his opinion, in a matter controverted, and to give his reasons for the same, he doth it very ill, none worse. For first, I doe not believe that our Author can easily prove *Presbyters* and *Bishops* to be of
equi-

equivalent import, or comprehended under the same name in the Holy Scripture. But secondly, granting that they be, who that pretends to *Logick*, can dispute so lamely, as from a *Community* of names, to inferre an *Identity* or *sameness* in the thing so named, which is the ground our Author builds on. *Kings* are called *Gods* in holy Scripture, *I have said ye are Gods, Psal. 82. 6.* and God doth frequently call himselfe by the name of *King*: yet if a man should thence inferre, that from this *Community* of names, there ariseth an *Identity* or *sameness* between *God* and the *King*, he might be worthily condemned for so great a *Blasphemer*. *S. Peter* calls our *Saviour Christ* by the name of *Bishop*, and himselfe a *Presbyter* or *Priest* (an Elder, as most unhandsomly our English reads it) the *Bishop* of your Soules, *1 Pet. 2. 25.* I who am also an Elder, *1 Pet. ver. 1.* yet were it a sorry piece of *Logick* to conclude from hence, that there is no distinction between an *Apostle*, and an Elder, the *Prince* of the *Apostles*, and a Simple *Presbyter*, or between *Christ* the supream *Paster* of his Church, and every ordinary *Bishop*; And thirdly, taking it for granted that *Bishops* have an *Identity* or *sameness* in *Name*, *Office*, *Ordination*,

and *Qualification*, with *Presbyters*, as our Author telleth us they have, it will not follow convertibly that *Presbyters* have the *like Identity*, or *sameness* of *Qualification*, *Ordination*, *Name* and *Office*, which the Bishop hath. My reason is, because a Bishop being first Regularly and Canonically to be made a Priest, before he take the order and degree of a Bishop, hath in him all the *Qualifications*, the *Ordination*, *Name* and *Office* which a *Presbyter* hath; and something farther super-added, as well in point of *Order* as of *Jurisdiction*, which every *Presbyter* hath not, so that though every Bishop be a Priest or *Presbyter*, yet every *Presbyter* not a Bishop. To make this clear by an example in the *Civill Government*; when Sir *Robert Cecil* Knight, and principall Secretary of State, was made first Earl of *Salisbury*, and then Lord Treasurer, continuing Knight and Secretary as he was before: it might be said, that he had an *Identity* or *sameness* in *Name*, *Office*, *Order* and *Qualification*, with Sir *John Herbert* the other Secretary; yet could this be said reciprocally of Sir *John Herbert*, because there was something super-added to Sir *Robert Cecil*, namely the dignity of an *Earle*, and the *Office* of Lord Treasurer, which

which the other had not. So true is that of *Laſtantiuſ* an old Chriſtian writer, *Adeo argumenta ex abſurdo petita ineptos habent excitus*; So ordinary a thing it is for Arguments built upon weak grounds, to have worſe concluſions. *Episcopacy* being thus knocked down with a painted club, our Author goes on to tell us what great, but unprofitable paines were taken in defence thereof, telling us, that though the *Preſſe ſwarmed with Books*, ſetting forth the right upon which it was founded, yet all advantaged them little. How ſo? be-
 cauſe, ſaith he,

Such a prejudice there was againſt them, and the truth contended for lay then ſo deep, as few had perſpicuity enough to diſcern it.]

That the *Preſſe ſwarmed with Books*, purpoſely writ about this time, in defence of the Divine Right of *Episcopacy*, I remember not; but ſure I am, it ſwarmed with many peſtilent and ſeditious Libels, in which the B ſhops were defamed, and the calling queſtioned: In answer whereunto (if any of them were thought worthy to receive an answer) it is poſſible that ſome-
 what may be ſaid upon the by, for Decla-
 ration of that Divine Right on which it was founded. Nor was this any new
 claime never made before, but frequently
 in

Ibid.

insisted on by the Bishop, and those that writ in defence of Bishops, in Queen Elizabeths time ; by Doctor Bancroft (then Bishop of London) in the Conference at Hampton Court, and that too, in the presence of Doctor Reynolds (incomparably the most Learned man of the opposite party) who never contradicted him for it, nor confuted him in it ; and finally by Bishop Laud in the High Commission, which gave occasion of matter to some publick Libellors, but never any serious and solid debate till after the making of these Canons: but be the title never so good, the asserting of it never so frequent, the Books by which it was maintained never so learned, and the reasons in those Books never so convincing ; yet if once prejudice come in to perswade the contrary, it is no marvell if all men had not *perspicacity* enough to discern the truth. It is an old Maxime in *Philosophy*, that *intus existens prohibet alienum* ; never more truly verified, than when men come with prejudice and prepossession to a point in Controversie. But howsoever, though some men blinde with prejudice had not the *perspicacity* of discerning truth, yet some others had ; unless the argument be good, that because God layeth such a spirit of insalvation upon

upon some men, that seeing they should see but should not perceive, therefore all other men must be like the *Idols* in the *Psalmist* which have eyes and see not. Yet for the opening of the eyes, as well of men willing to be informed as wilfully blinded, no looner had the *Smeſtymnians* revived the Controversie, but presently the Divine Right of *Episcopacy* was maintained and published by Dr. *Hall* then Bishop of *Exeter* in his Answer and Reply to their severall Tractates, by *Churchman* in the *History of Episcopacy*, by Dr. *Taylor* in a Book, intituled, *Episcopacy by Divine Right*, by severall Tracts of Dr. *Hammond* both in English and Latine. But lest these should be as much suspected of partiality, as others of prejudice, we shall finde the like declared in a Book writ purposely on that subject by Sir *Thomas Aston* Knight and Baronet, and in the *Area Mastiques* of *John Theyre* Gent. men no may interessed (but onely by their good affections) in the Churches quarrels. And some there are not altogether of so good affections, who have done the like. And first the *Lincolne-shire* Minister, so much cried up for writing against *Altars*, or rather against placing the *Communion Table* *Altar-wise*, doth affirme expressly,

pag. 64. that the calling of Bishops is founded upon Apostolicall, and (for all the essentiall parts thereof) on Divine Right. And secondly, the Lord Faulkland (no great friend to Bishops, as was shewed before) in a Tract of his against Mr. Henderson before he squinted toward the Court, doth affirm as positively, that there is more to be found for Bishops and Episcopacy in the holy Scripture, than either for the Lords day, or for Infant-Baptism. And thirdly, we shall finde, the learned Mr. John Selden is not totally against us in this particular, as appeareth by his retortion of the Argument of Mr. Grimston in the House of Commons. Mr. Grimstons Argument was this, 1. That Bishops are *Jure Divino* is of question. 2. That Archbishops are not *Jure Divino* is out of question: 3. That Ministers are *Jure Divino*, there is no question. Now if Bishops which are questioned, whether *Jure Divino*, and Archbishops which out of question are not *Jure Divino*, shall suspend Ministers that are *Jure Divino*, I leave it to you Mr. Speaker. Which Mr. Selden (whether with greater wit or scorn it is hard to say) thus retorted on him, 1. That the Convocation is *Jure Divino* is a question, 2. That Parliaments are not *Jure Divino* is

is out of question. 3. That Religion is *Jure Divino* there is no question. Now Mr. Speaker that the Convocation, which is questioned, whether *Jure Divino*, and Parliaments, which out of question are not *Jure Divino*, should meddle with Religion which questionlesse is *Jure Divino*, I leave to you Mr. Speaker. And so much for that: our Author now draws towards the Oath, which (by reason of an &c. carelesly left in by him who transcribed it for the Presse) he falls on with as much severity, as our Witty Gentleman did with scorns, saying of that &c. That,

It was of so mysterious import, as the very imposers, much lesse the Furors were not able to decipher what it meant.] And of a mysterious import it had been indeed, if not restrained and limited by the following words. The whole clause in the Oath stands thus: Nor will I ever give my consent to alter the Government of this Church by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, &c. as it stands now established, and as by right is ought to stand. In the construction of which Text the &c. as it now stands is a meere impertinency; for being left in, it signifieth nothing, in regard of the restriction following; and being left out, the sense is currant and compleat without

Ibid.

without it. And this, our Author, and the witty Gentleman, and he that pulled down the Crosse in *S. Pauls Church-yard*, and others which writ against this Oath could not choose but see; but that they were not willing to see any thing which might make against them. But whereas our Author telleth us, that neither the *imposers* nor the *furors* (that is to say, neither the men that voted to the Oath, nor they that were required to take it) were able to decipher what it meant, I finde by that, that our Author hath talked with very few of that Convocation. The truth is, that in many Canons which were made before this (as all of them in a manner were) there was a particular enumeration of all persons vested with any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, that is to say, Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, Deans and Chapters, and other persons having peculiar or exempt Jurisdiction: which having been repeated distinctly and particularly in such of the Canons as were first made, was in the first asserting of this Canon for avoiding of a *tautologie* so often iterated, cut off with this &c. with an intention nevertheless to make the enumeration perfect (and consequently to expunge this &c.) before it came to be ingrossed.

grossed. But the King being weary of the charge and clamour, which the keeping of a Guard on the Convocation did expose Him to, did hasten them to a conclusion by so many Messages, brought by Sir *Henry Vane* and others, that in that haste this unlucky &c. was forgotten, and so committed to the Presse accordingly. But this &c. is not all which our Author quarrels in the Oath, telling us next, That

To exact an Oath of dissent from Civill Establishments in such things of indifferency, was an affront to the very fundamentalls of Government,] Our Author taking it for granted that the government of the Church by Bishops is a thing of *indifferency* (which is a clearer evidence of his own opinion in this point than we had before) is much aggrieved that the Clergie should binde themselves by Oath not to consent to any alteration of it; and this he calleth an *affront to the Fundamentalls of Government*; but on what reason, as he doth not tell us, so for my part I am not able to conceive. It is indeed an *affront to Government*, not to submit or yeild obedience unto *civill Establishments*, when made and legally established; but it is no *affront* not to give consent to any such *establishments* while they are in treaty: for then the liberty of assenting

Ibid.

assenting or dissenting, of yea or nay would be taken away from every Member in the Houses of Parliament, and every man must give consent to every Bill which is offered to him. Besides there were but few of the Convocation whose consent was likely to be asked, when any change of *Church-Government* should be set on foot, so that their dissenting or assenting was not much materiall, but as by their readinesse of consenting to such *Innovations* in the publicke Government, they might encourage others to proceed against it. Here then is no affront to Government, much lesse to the Fundamentals of it, the Oath not binding any man not to yeild obedience, but not to give consent to such alteration, no more than it is now at this present time, for many a well-minded man to live quietly and peaceably under the present Government of the Civil State, who never gave consent to the present change. But so (I trow) it was not in the *solemn Covenant*, in which it was not thought enough to binde men to submit to such alterations as were then contriving, but actually to *indeavour the extirpation* of the whole *Prelacie*, that is to say, the Government of the Church by *Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Deans and Chapters,*

*Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other Officers which depend upon them. Nor was this required of the Clergie onely which had before taken an Oath of Canonickall obedience to their severall and resp:ctive Bishops, but even of the Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, and Members of Capitular bodies, who having took a former Oath for the preservation of the Lands and Priviledges of their severall Churches, must by this Covenant be bound to endeavour their own extirpation, and the subversion of those Churches, and consequently every one of them must be a *Fals de Je*, as our Lawyers phrase it. Our Author hath not done with the Oath, for he findes faule next,*

That the Juror therein declares he swears willingly, to which he was to be constrained under the highest penalties.] This is a grievous crime indeed, but such (if any crime it be) as the high Court of Parliament hath been guilty of, in drawing up the Oath of Allegiance, in the third yeare of King James: In which the party is to swear, that he makes that recognition, not only heartily and truly, but also willingly: and yet the taking of that Oath is imposed on all the Subjects under severall Penalties, if any of them should refuse it. A

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Fol. 184
crime

crime it is in both or neither, and therefore our Author hath proceeded with great partiality, in faulting that as ill done in the *Convocation* which passed with so great judgment and authority in the Court of Parliament. Our Author having done with the Oath, goes back to the Canon about *Socinianisme*, which he excepts against, because

Ibid.

As the Scots condemned the Arminian Tenets, without defining what these Tenets were, so did these the Socinians, not declaring wherein they were culpable. I am loth to think our Author to be a *Socinian*, though his advocating for them in such manner may invite me to it; for otherwise the Case he putteth is extremely different. The *Arminian Tenets* were but few, reduced to five, and not increased in the long agitation of those weighty Controversies, and so might easily have been reckoned and defined when the Scots condemned them: But *Socinianisme* is a complication (as the Canon calls it) of so many *Heresies*, that the bare specification and recitall of them (which must be made by searching into their Books and Papers) might have taken up the greatest part of the time which the *Convocation* had to spend in all other businesses. It

was as much as they could doe to condemne it under that generall Notion, to interdict the bringing in, printing, and studying such Books as contained these Heresies. And finally, to lay such a brand upon it, as men might know how much these Tenets were abhorred by the Church of England. And yet for all this great care they had little thanks, not onely our Author being displeased with their proceedings, but the rise, growth, and danger of Socinianisme was not long after charged on the Archbishop and divers eminent Members of that Convocation, by one Mr. Cheynell, and that too in a printed Pamphlet written to that purpose, Anno 1643. So hard a thing it is to keep a good conscience, and to please all parties. From this our Author passeth to the Benevolence which the Clergie granted to the King in that Convocation, being of Four shillings in the Pound to be payd yearly for six years next following.

Which was beheld (saith he) as an act of very high presumption, and an usurpation upon the preeminence of Parliament, no Convocation having power to grant any Subsidies or aid without confirmation from the Lay-Senate.] With ignorance enough in them that beheld it so, or looked upon it

Ibid.

as an *Act* of very high presumption; The *English Clergie* being the greatest slaves which the *Sunne* ever shined on, if they could not give away their own without leave from others. But whereas our Author puts it down for a Rule in Government, *That no Convocation hath power to grant any Subsidies or aide without confirmation from the Parliament*; I must let him (and all that shall read him) know, that never was any rule more false, nor more weakly grounded; The Clergie in Convocation having as much power to give away the money of the Clergy, by whom they are chose to that employment; as the Commons in Parliament have to give the money of the Cities, Towns, and Counties, for which they serve. For in the choosing of the Clerks for the Convocation there is an Instrument drawn up and sealed by the Clergie, in which they binde themselves to the *Archdeacon* or *Archdeacons* of their severall Diocesses, upon the pain of forfeiting all their lands and goods, *se ratum, gratum & acceptum habere, quicquid dicti procuratores sui dixerint, fecerint, vel constituerint*, that is to say, to allow, stand to, and perform whatsoever their said Clerks or Proctors shall say, doe, or condescend

descend unto on their behalfe. Greater authority than this, as the Commons have not, so why the Clergie in the Convocation should not make use of this authority, as they see occasion, I can finde no reason. Nor is it a speculative authority onely, and not reducible unto practice and authority which was then in *force*, but not then in *use*, as our Author hath distinguished in another place; but very safely preceeded in Queen *Elizabeths* time. For in the year 1585, (if I remember it right, as I think I doe) the Convocation having given one Subsidie confirmed by Parliament, and finding that they had not done sufficiently for the *Queens* occasions, did after adde a Benevolence or Aide of two shillings in the pound to be levied upon all the Clergie, and to be levied by such Synodical Acts and Constitutions as they digested for that purpose, without having any recourse to the Parliament for it; which Synodical Acts and Constitutions the Clergie of this present Convocation followed word for word, not doubting but they had as good authority to doe it now, as the Convocation in *Q. Elizabeths* time had to doe it then; and so undoubtedly they had, whatsoever either our Author here, or any other E-

nemy of the Churches power can alledge against it. Our Author hath now done with the Convocation, and leads us on unto the Warre levied by the Scots, who had no sooner made an entrance, but the King was first assaulted by a Petition from some Lords of England, bearing this inscription,

Fol. 189. To the Kings most excellent Majestie. The humble Petition of your Majesties most loyall and most obedient Subjects, whose names are under-written, in behalf of themselves & divers others.] Concerning this we are to know, that a little before the Scots fell into England, they published a Pamphlet, called the Intentions of the Army; in which it was declared, That they resolved not to lay down Armes till the Reformed Religion were settled in both Kingdomes upon surer grounds, the Causers and Abettors of their present Troubles brought to publick Justice, and that Justice to be done in Parliament: and for the Causers of their Troubles they reckoned them in generall to be the Papists, Prelates and their Adherents, but more particularly the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Lieutenant of Ireland. In Correspondence hereunto comes this Petition, subscribed by six Earles, one Viscount, and four Barons,

rons, being no other than a superstructure upon that foundation, a Descant only on that Plain Song. And presently on the back of that, another is posted to the same effect from the City of London: So that the clouds which gathered behinde Him in the South were more amazement to the King than this Northern Tempest, The Petition of the *Londoners*, (that we may see how well the businesse was contrived) was this that followeth,

O 4

To

*To the Kings most excellent
Majestie.*

The humble Petition of your
Majesties loyall Subjects the
Citizens of London.

Most gracious Sovereign,

BEing moved by the duty and obedi-
ence which by Religion and Lawes
your Petitioners owe unto your sacred
Majestie, they humbly present unto
your Princely and pious consideration,
the severall and pressing grievances
following, viz:

- I. The great and unusuall impositions upon Merchandize imported and exported.
- II. The urging and levying of Ship-money, notwithstanding which, both Merchants, their goods, and ships have been taken and destroyed by Turks and Pyrates.

III. The

III. The multitude of Monopolies, Patents, and Warrants, whereby trade in the City, and other parts of this Kingdome is much decayed.

IV. The sundry Innovations in matters of Religion; the Oath and Canons newly imposed by the late Convocation, whereby your Petitioners are in danger to be deprived of their Ministerie.

V. The concourse of *Papists* and their habitation in *London*, and the Suburbs, whereby they have more means and opportunities of plotting and executing their designs against the Religion established.

VI. The sudden calling and sudden dissolution of Parliaments, without addressing of your Subjects grievances.

VII. The imprisonment of divers Citizens for not payment of Ship-money, and other impositions,

Observations on the History
 tions, and the prosecution of others in the Starre-Chamber for non-conformity to commands in Patents and Monopolies, whereby trade is restrained.

VIII. The great danger your sacred Person is exposed unto in the present Warre, and the various fears that have seized upon your Petitioners, and their Families, by reason thereof. Which grievances and feares have occasioned so great a stop and destruction in trade, that your Petitioners can neither sell, receive, nor pay, as formerly, and tends unto the utter ruine of the Inhabitants of this City, the decay of Navigation and Cloathing, and other Manufactures of this Kingdome.

Your Petitioners humbly conceiving the said grievances to be contrary to the Laws of this Kingdome, and finding by experience that they are not redressed

dressed by the ordinary Courts
of Justice; doe therefore
most humbly beseech your Roy-
all Majestie to cause a Parlia-
ment to be summoned with all
convenient speed, whereby they
may be relieved in the Pre-
misses.

And your Majesties, &c.

The like Petitions there came also from
other parts, according as the people could
be wrought upon to promote the business;
which makes it the lesse marvell that Pe-
titions shou'd come thronging in from all
parts of the Kingdome (as soon as the
Parliament was begun) craving redresse of
the late generall exorbitancies Both in
Church and State, as Fol. 129. we are told
by our Author.

And to deny the Scots any thing, conside-
ring their armed posture, was interpreted
the way to give them all. In the Intentions
of the Army before mentioned, the Scots
declared that they would take up nothing
of the Countrey people without ready
money, and when that failed, they would
give Bills of Debt for the payment of it.
But finding such good correspondence,
and

Fol. 194.

and such weak resistance after their entry into *England*, they did not onely spoil and plunder wheresoever they came, but would not hearken to a *Cessation of Arms*, during the time of the Treaty then in agitation, unlesse their Army were maintained at the charge of the *English*. And this was readily yielded to, for fear (it seems) lest by denying the Scots any thing, we should give them all. I know indeed, that it is neither safe nor prudent, to deny any reasonable request to an armed power, *arma tenenti omnia dat qui iusta negat*, as the Poet hath it, and thus the story of *David* and *Abai* will inform us truly. But then it must be such a power which is able to extort by force, that those which they cannot otherwise procure by favour, which whether the Scots were Masters of, I do more then question. Exceedingly cryed up they were, both in Court and City, as men of most unmatched valour, and so undoubtedly they were, till they found resistance; their Officers and Commanders magnified both for wit and courage, the Common Soldiers looked on as the *Sons of Enoch*, the *English* being thought as Grass-hoppers in comparison of them, which notwithstanding the Earl of *Strafford* (then General of the *English Army*)

Army) would have given them battaile, if the King had been willing to engage; and signified by Letters to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that he durst undertake (upon the perill of his head) to send them back faster then they came, but that he did not hold it concellable, as the case then stood. It is an old saying, &c a true, that the *Lion is not so fierce as he is painted*; nor were the *Scots* such terrible fellowes, as they were reported: For when they met with any who knew how to deale with them, they proved such Lyons as the Boy saw the Butcher carry by two and two together upon a Horse; repulsed with shame and ignominy from the walls of *Hereford*, driven out of the field with foul dishonour in the Fight on *Marston-Moor*, near *York*; totally routed by the gallantry and conduct of one man in three severall battails, in *Launceashire*, at *Dunbar*, at *Worcester*, the command of their own Country taken from them, and themselves made vassalls to a people, whom they most despised. But as they brewed, so let them bake, for the thought is taken.

James Earle of Montrosse having long
and faithfully adhered to the Covenanters,
&c.] The reason of which adhering to
them, as he afterwards averred unto the
King,

Fol. 195

King was briefly this. At his returns from the Court of *France*, where he was Capitaine (as I take it) of the *Scottish* guard, he had a minde to put himself into the Kings service, and was advised to make his way by the Marquesse of *Hamilton*; who knowing the gallantry of the man, and fearing a competitor in his Majesties favour, cunningly told him, that he would doe him any service, but that the King was so wholly given up to the *English*, and so discountenanced and sleighted the *Scottish* Nation, that were it not for doing service for his Countrey (which the King intended to reduce to the forme of a Province) he could not suffer the indignities which were put upon him. This done, he repaires unto the King, tells him of the Earls returne from *France*, and of his purpose to attend him at the time appointed; but that he was so powerfull, so popular, and of such esteem among the *Scots*, by reason of an old descent from the Royall Family, that if he were not nipped in the bud (as we use to say) he might endanger the Kings interest and affaires, in *Scotland*. The Earle being brought unto the King, with very great demonstrations of affection, on the Marquesses part, the King without taking any great no-

tice of him, gave him his hand to kisse, and so turned aside: which so confirmed in the truth of that false report, which *Hamilton* had delivered to him, that in great displeasure and disdaine, he makes for *Scotland*, where he found who knew how to worke on such humours, as he brought along with him, till by seconding the information which he had from *Hamilton*, they had fashioned him wholly to their will. How he fell off againe, we are told by our Author.

Tuesday November the 3. being the day Fol. 196. prefixed, and the Parliament sate, &c.]
 Touching this day there was a Letter wrote to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, advertising that the Parliament of the twentieth yeare of *Henry the Eighth*, which began in the fall of *Cardinall Wolsey*, continued in the diminution of the power and priviledges of the Clergy, and ended in the dissolution of the Abbies, and Religious Houses, was begun on the third day of *November*; and therefore that for good luck sake, he would move the King to respite the first sitting of it, for a day or two longer. But the Archbishop not hearkning to this advertisement, the Parliament had their first sitting on *Tuesday the third day of November*.

ber, as our Author telleth us: which Parliament as it begun in the fall and ruine of the Archbishop himself, and was continued in the totall dissipation of the remaining rites and priviledges of the English Clergy; so did it not end till it had subverted the Episcopall Government, dissolved all Capitular bodies, and left the Cathedralls of this Land (not presently ruined I confesse, but) without meanes to keep them up for the time to come. I am no superstitious observer of dayes and times, and yet am apt enough to thinke, that the beginning of an Enterprize in a lucky houre, may much conduce to a fortunate and successfull end. Certaine I am, that *Machiavel* hath told us in the first book of his History of *Florence*, that when Pope *Martin* the third had besieged *Furly* (a chief town of *Romondiola* or *Romagna*) *Guido Bonatus* (a man renoued unto this day for judicious Astrology) perswaded the people of that City, that so soon as he gave them a token, & not before, they should presently assault their Enemies, which they did accordingly, and sped so well by the advice, that all their Enemies were slain, and the siege removed. Our Author having thus named *Tuesday* for the day of the

the week, and the third day of *November* for the day of the month, on which the Parliament began, proceeds in telling us, that the day prefixed being come

The Parliament saith.] But where the Parliament saith, he telleth us not, though there be all the reason in the world why he should have told it: for who could rationally suppose that a Parliament called at such a time, and on such an occasion (that is to say, the over-running of the Northern parts of the Kingdome by a *Scottish Army*) should be held at *Westminster*; when *Yorke* (where the King was there in Person) lay nearer to the danger, and the scene of action, and to the place of treaty betwixt the Nations. These Reasons were sufficient to have moved the King to hold this Parliament at *Yorke*, and not at *Westminster*, had He known nothing of the disaffections and engagements of the neighbouring City, as He knew too much. And He had some good presidents too, which might have added no small weight to those weighty Reasons, for when King *Edward* the first was busie in the Conquest of *Wales* He called His Parliament to *Aston-Burnell*, being in the *Marches* of that Countrey; and when He turned His Forces to the

Ibid.

Conquest of Scotland, He called His Parliament to *Carlisle*, (if my memory faile me not) being on the *Borders* of that Kingdome. Had the King made choice of the like place for this present Parliament (which he did afterwards indeavour to alter when it was too late) he had undoubtedly prevented all those inconveniences (or rather mischiefs) which the *Pride*, *Purse*, *Faction*, and tumultuousness of the *Londoners* did afterwards enforce upon him. And yet as if he had not erred enough in calling his Parliament so neer *London*, the Commissioners for the Treaty must also be brought thither by especiall order, that they might have the greater opportunity to inflame that City, and make it capable of any impression, which those of the *Scottish Nation*, should thinke fit to imprint upon them. For never were men Idolized there, as the *Scottish Commissioners*, feasted, presented, complemented by all sorts of people; their lodgings more frequented at the publick times of Prayers, or Preachings, then ever were the Houses of the Embassadors of the *Popish Princes*, by the opposite party. What ensued hereupon, we shall finde in our Author, when he comes to tell us, what multitudes followed Alderman

derman Pennington, and how many thousand hands subscribed the Petition which the Alderman carryed, against the Government of Bishops then by Law established; what greater multitudes thronged down afterwards to the House of Parliament, to call upon the Peers for Justice on the Earl of *Strafford*. The two main points which the *Scottish Covenanters* aimed at, in bringing their Army into *England*. In order whereunto, the Earl of *Strafford* is impeached of high Treason now. And

Thereupon requested from the Parlia- Fol. 199^t
ment House, and committed to the uſber of
the black red.] Which was the least that probably would be requested upon such an Impeachment, and that being granted, a question was raised amongst knowing men, whether the Earl of *Strafford* took his accustomed wisdom and courage along with him, when he came to the Parliament. Some thinke he failed in point of wisdom, in regard hee could not chuse but know, that the *Scots* and *scotizing English*, had most infallibly resolved upon his destruction; and that Innocency was no armour of proof against the fiery darts of malicious power; that seeing such a storm hang over his head, he rather

P 2 should

should have kept himselfe in the *English* Army (being then under his command) which he had gained upon exceedingly by his noble carriage, or have passed over into *Ireland*, where the Army rested wholly at his Devotion; or have transported himselfe to some forraigne Kingdome, till faire wether here (in reference to his owne safety, and the publick peace) might invite him home; that it was no betraying of his Innocency to decline a triall, where partiality held the Scales, and selfe-ends backed with power, and made blinde with Prejudice, were like to overballance Justice: that if sentence should be passed against him for default of appearance (which was the worst that could befall him) yet had he still kept his head on his shoulders untill better times, and in the meane time might have done his Master as good service in the Courts of many forraigne Princes, as if he were sitting in *White-Hall* at the Councell table. On the other side it was alledged, that all these points had been considered of, before his leaving of the Army; that whilst he lay so neer the *Scots* in the head of this Army, he had gained (as he thought) certaine and assured evidence that the *Scots* Army came not in, but by imitation; that there was a

con-

confederacy made between the Heads of the Covenanters, and some of the leading Members of both Houses, his most capitall enemies, to *subvert* the Government of the Church, and innovate in that of the Civill State; that he had digested his intelligence in those particulars into the form of an Impeachment, which he intended to have offered in the House of Peers, as soon as he had taken his place amongst them; that Mr. *Pym*, whom it concerned as much as any, fearing or knowing his intendments, followed him so close at the heels, and had his Impeachment so ready in his mouth, that he was ready to give, and did give the blow, before the Earle of *Strafford* could have time and leisure to effect his purpose. This therefore being left undecided, it was said by others, that the Earle shewed not that *praesentiam animi*, that readiness of courage and resolution which formerly had conducted him through so many difficulties, in giving over his designe; for though he lost the opportunity of striking the first blow, yet he had time enough to strike the second, which might have been a very great advantage to his preservation. For, had he offered his Impeachment, and prosecuted it in the

P 3 same

same pace and method, as that was which was brought against him, it is possible enough, that the businesse on both sides might have been hushed up without hurt to either. And for so doing he wanted not a fair example in the second Parliament of this King, in which he served for the County of *Yorke* in the House of Commons, when the Earle of *Bristol* being impeached of high Treason by the Kings Attorney, at the instance and procurement of the Duke of *Buckingham*, retorted presently a Recrimination or Impeachment against the Duke, and by that meanes, tooke off the edge of that great adversary from proceeding further. This I remember to have been the substance of some discourses which that time produced, how pertinent and well grounded, must be left to the Readers judgment. Certain I am, it was much wondred at by many, that a man of so great spirit and knowledge should yeild himself up so tamely, on a generall Accusation only, without any particular Act of Treason charged upon him, or any proof offered to make good that Charge, not only to the losse of his liberty as a private person, but to the forfeiture of his priviledge as a Member of Parliament; all which points were

were so much insisted not long after by Mr. Pym, and the rest of the Five Members when they were under the like impeachment (though not so generall as this) on the Kings behalf. But being all these considerations were not thought of or passed over by him, and that the Commons sped so well in their first attempt, it was not wondred at, that they brought the Archbishop (within few weeks after) under the like generall Charge of Treason, or that he yielded without any opposition to the like commitment: of whom our Author telleth us, That a mixt accusation, halfe *Scotch*, halfe *English*, was preferred against him,

And on the 18 he was voted guilty of high Treason, and committed to the Usher of the Black Rod. Fol. 202.] To give the true timing of this businesse (which our Author doth a little faile in, he may please to know, that on Wednesday the 16 of *Decemb.* the Canons being voted down in the House of Commons (of which more hereafter) a Committee was appointed to draw up a Charge against him; and the same day (not on the 17, as our Author) he was named an *Incendiary* by the *Scotch* Commissioners, who promised to bring in their Complaint against him on

the morrow after, the Lord *Paget* being made the Instrument to serve them in it. No complaint coming from the *Scots* on Thursday, Mr. *Hollis* is sent up with the Impeachment on the Friday morning, and presently came in the Charge of the *Scotch Commissioners*; upon the reading whereof, he was committed to the custody of *James Maxwell*, Usher of the black Rod, as our Author telleth us. There he continued full ten weeks before any particular Charge was brought against him, during which time he had gained so much on the good opinion of *Ginne Rider* Mr. *Maxwells* Wife, that she was pleased to say amongst some of her Gossips, That *certainly he was a very devout and religious man, but one of the simplest Fellows to talk with that ever she knew in all her life.* On Friday Feb. 26. on the ten weeks end, the Charge before spoken of was brought up by Sir *Henry Vane* the younger from the House of Commons: And upon Monday *March* the first he was conveyed unto the Tower, continuing in the state of a Prisoner from the first to the last above four years before he came unto his last and fatall Tryall. But it is time, that we goe back unto the place where we left our Author, and we shall finde there, that
there

there was not greater care taken to commit this Bishop to the Tower, then to release another from it; of which he saith, that

Munday the 16 of Novemb. the Lord Bishop of Lincolne was set free of his imprisonment in the Tower, upon the suit of the House of Peers to His Majestie, and the next day, being a day of Humiliation, he was brought into the Abbey Church by six Bishops, and officiated there as Dean of Westminster before the Lords.] So shall it be done unto the man whom the People honour. Never was man more honoured for the present both by Lords and Commons, his person looked upon as sacred, his words deemed as Oracles; and he continued in this height, till having served their turn against the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Earle of Strafford, he began sensibly to decline, and grew at last the most hated man of all the Hierarchy. But he was wise enough to foresee the change, and prepare himself for it: For, I remember, that congratulating him for the high esteem, to which he had attained in both Houses of Parliament; and representing to him the many opportunities which he had thereby of doing service to the King, and good to the Church:

Church: He told me, that he did not think that the Parliament had any better affections for him than for the rest of his Brethren; that the difference between them stood onely thus, that some of them might be more hated than he, but that he was not more beloved than any of them; And finally, (such was the freedome he used with me) that all the courtesie he expected from them, was that which *Poliphemus* promised to *Ulysses*, that is to say, to eat him last after he had devoured his fellows. How truly this was said the event hath proved.

Fol. 205. It was unanimously voted by the Commons, That the Charge imposed upon the Subject for the providing and furnishing of Ships, and the Assesments for raising of money for that purpose (commonly called Ship-money) are against the Laws of the Realme.] Nor was it only voted thus in the House of Commons, but afterwards in the House of Peers, and all proceedings in the Case both at the Councell Table, the Star-Chamber, and the Courts of Justice declared null and void: yet for all this, the opinion of the Legality of it was so fixed in the mindes of many understanding men, that it could not easily be removed: 1. In regard of the great learning

learning and integrity of the man, by whom it was first set on foot. 2. Because all the Judges had subscribed unanimously to the Lawfulnesse of it in time of danger, of which danger the King was declared to be the Judge. 3. Because being brought to a publick tryall, after it had been argued by the Council on both sides in the Courts of Justice, and by all the Judges in the Exchequer Chamber, there passed a definitive sentence for it in behalf of the King. 4. Because voted down by the Houses of Parliament in a meer arbitrary way, than was expected without being brought to a review, neither the Kings Council being heard, nor the Judges called to shew the Reasons of their opinions. 5. Because it was ordered by the House of Commons, that the *Arguments* of Justice Crooke, and Justice Hutton for the illegality thereof should be put in print: those of the other eight Judges which were for the Legallity of it, continuing suppressed; which gave occasion to most men to think that there was more reason for it in those Arguments than was thought fit to see the light. And last of all, because notwithstanding all this care to vote down this *Assessment*, they were faine to have recourse

course to the King, for obtaining of an Act of Parliament to secure them from it for the time to come. In the mean time it was thought fit to impeach the Judges of high Treason, that having such a rod over them, they might be sure that nothing should be declared for Law, but as they would have it. Not being satisfied in this Vote, I fear I shall finde lesse satisfaction in that that follows, that is to say, that

Ibid. *The Clergie in a Synod or Convocation hath no power to make Canons, Constitutions, or Lawes, to binde either Laity or Clergie without a Parliament.] This is a new piece of State-doctrine never known before, the Convocation having no dependence upon the Parliament, either in the calling or dissolving of it, nor in the confirmation & authorizing of the Acts thereof, but only on the King himselfe; and not upon the Kings sitting in the Court of Parliament, but in his Palace or Court Royall wheresoever it be. And this appeareth both by the Statute made in the 26 of Henry 8th, and the constant practise ever since. But whereas it was voted also, that the Canons are against the Fundamentall Lawes of this Realme, and against the Kings Prerogative, &c.*

I am to tell my Author, (that before the *Canons* were subscribed, they were imparted to the King, and by Him communicated to the Lords of the Privy Councell, the Judges, and the Kings Councell, learned in the Laws of this Realm, being then attending, in the hearing of all which they were read, and by all approved : which had been strange, if any thing tending unto *faction* and *sedition*, or to the diminution of the Subjects *property*, and the Kings *prerogative*, or otherwise against the known Laws of the Land, had been found in them. And finally, whereas our Author doth inform us, that this censure passed upon the *Canons*, upon a full debating of the Cause on both sides, I would faine know by whom it was debated on the behalf of the Clergie. I have some reason to believe that none of the Clergie of that Convocation, who best understood their own businesse, were called to the debating of it, or that they did appear there, by their Councell learned, sufficiently authorized, and instructed to advocate for them; and therefore if any such debating was, it must be managed either by some Members of their owne House, or by some *London* Ministers, purposely called

called out of the rest to betray the Cause; and be it which of these it will, it is not to be doubted, but their Arguments were either fitted to the sense of the House, or built on such weak promises, as nothing but a Vote of Condemnation could ensue upon them. Nor was it thought sufficient to decry the Canons, unless the Canon-makers were kept under by the hand of terrour; And therefore, as before, they impeached the Judges, so did they frame a Bill, for Fining all the Clergy of that Convocation, according to the place and station which they held therein: By this meanes keeping them in such awe, that few of them durst appeare in maintenance of their owne Authority, or in opposing those encroachments, and Innovations, which day by day were thrust upon them.

Fol. 210. Toward which worke our Nation was so auxiliary, so assistant, yet at the end brought them in no Bill of charges.] There was no reason why they should, having got more by the bargain then their charges came to. Mary of Scotland then married to Frances the second of France, had taken on her (at that time) the stile and title of Queen of England; and the better to pursue that Title, had put some companies of the French into the Castle of *Edenborough*,

rough, the town of *Lieth*, and other places of that Kingdome. The *Scots* being then busied in the Reformation of the *Kirk*, looked on these *French*, as purposely sent thither by the *King* and *Queen* to crosse their actions, and hold them under the Dominion of the Popes of *Rome*; and thereupon made suit unto *Queen Elizabeth*, to supply them with Men, Money, and Ammunition, for driving the *French* men out of their Countrey. And heretunto the *Queen* most readily assented, knowing full well how much it did import the safety of her Person, and the preservation of her Title, Estate, that the *French* should not be settled in the Forts and Castles which lay near the borders of this Kingdome. So that by succouring the *Scots* in such proportion as they had desired, she played her owne game as well as theirs. For by dislodging the *French*, and quitting the whole Countrey of them, she kept that back-door shut against all pretenders; and by feeding the most Popular of the *Scottish* Nobility, with gifts and pensions, she got her selfe so strong a party in that Kingdome, that she became more absolute there, than ever any King of *Scotland* had been before her.

The Bishops were excluded by antient Fol. 219.

Ca-

Canon Lawes of the Concell of Toledo, to be assistant in cause of Blood or Death, as disagreeable to their Function.] That the Bishops were disabled by some antient Canons, from sentencing any man to death, and (it may be) from being present when any such sentence was pronounced, I shall easily grant; but that they were disabled from being assistants in such cases, from taking the Examinations, or hearing the Depositions of witnesses, or giving counsell in such matters as they saw occasion, I believe our Author cannot prove. Certain I am, that it is, and hath been otherwise in point of practice. And that the Bishops sitting as *Peers* in an *English* Parliament, were never excluded before this time, from any such assistances, as by their Gravity and Learning, and other abilities, they were enabled to give in any darke and difficult businesse (chough of *Blood* and *Death*) which were brought before him. And I remember I saw about that time a little Manuscript Tract entituled, *De jure Paritatis Episcoporum*, that is to say, of the right of the *Peirage* of the Bishops, in which their priviledges were asserted, as to that particular: But they not willing to contend in a business which seemed

seemed so little to concerne them, or else not able to strive against the present stream, which seemed to carry all before it; suffered themselves to be *excluded* at that time, without *protesting* to the contrary, or interposing in defence of their ancient rights. And this I look on as the first degree of their *Humiliation*. For when it was perceived that a business of so great consequence might be done in Parliament, without their councell and consent, it opened a wide gap unto their adversaries, first to deprive them of their Votes, and after to destroy even the *Calling* it selfe. But this was not the main point which the Commons aimed at, they were resolved to have a *close Committee*, to take examinations in the businels of the Earl of *Strafford*, and were not willing that any Bishops should be of it, for feare lest favouring the Earles Cause or Person, they might discover any part of those secret practices which were had against him, and thereby fortifie and prepare him for his just defence, when the Cause should come unto a tryall. And now it is coming on apace, for our Author telleth us, that

Munday the 22. of March was the day prefixed of the Earles compearing. That is to say, of his appearing at *Westminster-*

Q

Hall

Ibid.

Hall, where the Lords were to sit as Judges, and the Commons as Prosecutors and Solicitors onely. If it be asked how it came to passe that the day was prefixed no sooner, considering that he was accused and committed on the 11. day of *November*, which was above four months before? I answer, first, that the Examination of so many Witnesses as were used against him, (many of which were sent for out of *Ireland* by especiall warrant) took up no small time. I answer secondly, that in this intervall of time there had been some endeavour used by the *Royall party*, to mitigate the displeasures, and take off the edge of his greatest Adversaries; and it came so farre towards an agreement, that there was a designation of some Offices of the greatest, both Trust and Power, to be given amongst them: it being condescended too (if my intelligence or memory faile not) that the Earl of *Bedford* should be made Lord Treasurer, and Master *Pym* Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Earl of *Essex* Governour of the Prince, and that Master *Hambden* should be his Tutor, the Lord Say Master of the Wards, and Master *Hollice* principall Secretary in the place of *Windebanke*, the Deputyship of *Ireland* was disposed of also,

also, and some Command appointed to the Earl of *Warwick* in the Royal Navie. And in relation to this purpose, the Bishop of *London* delivered to the King the Treasurers Staffe, the Earle of *Newcastle* relinquished the Governance of the Prince, and the Lord *Cottington* resigned his Offices both in the Exchequer and Court of Wards, there being no doubt but that Bishop *Dappa* would relinquish the Tutorship of the Prince when it should be required of him: but before all things were fully settled and agreed on, the Kings minde was altered, which so exasperated them who were concerned in this designation, that they pursued the Earle of *Strafford* with the greater eagerness. And somewhat to this purpose was hinted in the Kings Declaration of the 12 of *August*, in which he signified what overtures had been made by them, and with what importunity for Offices and preferments, what great services should have been done for him, and what other undertakings even to have saved the life of the Earle of *Strafford*. By which discovery as he blemished the repute of some principall Members in the eyes of many of the people, so he exposed himself to some disadvantages in the eyes of others, by

giving them to understand at how cheap a rate (a rate which would have cost him nothing) he might have saved the life of such an able and deserving Minister.

Fol 246. Secretary Vane upon some occasion delivered to his son Sir Henry Vane the key of a Cabinet to fetch some papers layed therein, &c.] What this occasion was is easie to be seen by the sequell of it, especially if compared with those Animosities and displeasures which the Secretary had harboured against the Earl. Sir Henry Vane had obtained of the King not long before, the Manour of *Rabie* in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, not without hope of being made Baron of that place by His Majesties favour. On the other side the Lord Lieutenant deriving his descent from the *Newils*, Earles of *Westmorland*, whose Honorary Seate that was, procured himself to be created Baron of *Rabie* in those Letters Patents, by which he was invested with the Earldome of *Strafford*. This gave the beginning to that fire which consumed the Earle, but not till it had been much increased on another occasion. There was a thrifty designe in Court to save the King the charges of a publick table; and to that end it was advised that Sir Henry Vane then Treasurer

surer of the Household should be made one of the principall Secretaries in the place of Sir John Cooke then weak with age, but so that he should still hold the Treasurership in the way of *Commendam*. Scarce was Vane warm in his new Office when the Earle of *Strafford* interposed, alleaging to the King, that he had no other Correspondent in the Court for the busineses of *Ireland* but Mr. Secretary *Cooke*, and that if he should be displaced, His Majesties affairs in that Kingdom might extremely suffer. On this, a sudden stop was made, and *Cooke* restored, continuing in his former Office till the *Queen* openly appeared in behalf of *Vane*, who so prevailed that *Vane* was settled in the place, and *Cooke* dismissed into the Countrey, as no longer serviceable; which fewell being added to the former fire, made it flame so high that nothing but death or blood could quench it. Insomuch as it was thought by many understanding men, that Sir *Henry Vane* did purposely misreport the Kings Message to the former Parliament for abrogating the Ship-money in hatred to the Earle of *Strafford*, who had undertook to manage that Parliament to the Kings advantage: and that seeing him to conti-

now still both in power and favour, he fell upon that speeding project which our Author hath related in that which followeth in the story; that by such a cunning piece of malice, he might rather seem to offer him up as a sacrifice to the publick justice, than to his own particular hatred, *Ah ultio magis publicè vindictæ quàm privato odio dato videatur*, as in the like case the Historian hath it.

Fol. 152.

For the Commons were resolved that day should set a totall period to the Earles defence, and next to speed their Bill of Attainder.] The Commons had now spent a Moneth in prosecuting their Accusation against the Earle of Strafford, and seeing how little they had gained in order to the point they aimed at, resolved to steer their course by another winde. For finding that their proofs amounted not to a *Legall evidence*, and that nothing but *legall evidence* could prevail in a way of Judicature, they called the *Legislative* power to their assistance; according unto which, both *Lords* and *Commons* might proceed by the light of their own consciences, without any further proof or testimony. And so it is affirmed expressly by Mr. St. John then Solicitor Generall in his Speech made at a Conference in a Committee

Committee of both Houses of Parliament, April the 29. 1641. where it is said, *That although single testimony might be sufficient to satisfie private consciences, yet how farre it would have been satisfactory in a judiciall way where Forms of Law are more to be stood upon, was not so clear; whereas in this way of Bill, private satisfaction to each mans conscience is sufficient, although no evidence had been given in at all.* Thus they resolved it in this Case, but knowing of what dangerous consequence it might be hereafter, to the lives and fortunes of the Subjects, a Clause was added to the Bill that it should not be drawn into example for the time to come: which because it may seem somewhat strange to them that know it not, I will here adde so much of the said Bill as concerns this point: In which said Bill the heads of the Accusation being reckoned up, it followeth thus, viz: *Be it therefore enacted by the Kings most excellent Majestie, and by the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said Earle of Strafford for the heynous crimes and offences aforesaid, stand and be adjudged and attainted of high Treason, and shall suffer such pain of death,*

and incurre such forfeitures of his Goods and Chattells, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, of any Estate of Free-hold, or Inheritance in the said Kingdoms of England, and Ireland, which the said Earle or any other to his use, or in trust for him, have, or had the day of the first sitting of this present Parliament, or at any time since. Provided that no Judge or Judges, Justice or Justices whatsoever, shall adjudge or interpret any act or thing to be Treason, nor hear or determine any Treason, nor in any other manner, then he or they should or ought to have done before the making of this Act, and as if this Act had never been made. Thus have we Treason and no Treason in the selfe-same action; that being judged Treason in this one man, which never was to be judged Treason in any other. But whatsoever it was, it was conceived that many of the Lords began to shew themselves more forwards to comply with the Commons, then they had done formerly.

Fol. 253. Whereof the King having notice, he thought it high time for him to interpose, &c. and calling both Houses together, May the first, said, &c.] This coming of his Majesty, and the Speech then made, as it relished so ill with the two Houses, that few of them attended

attended on the solemnities of the next day, on which the Kings eldest Daughter was married to the Prince of *Orange*, so gave it no contentment to the Earle himselfe, whose death it rather hastened, and made sure works of, then it could any waies conduce to his preservation. That passage in the Kings Speech, in which he signified, that the *misdemeanours* of the Earle were so great and many, that he was not fit to serve in the place of a *Constable*, wrought more impression on the Spirits of that Noble Gentleman, then any kinde of death (whatsoever it were) which his Enemies could inflict upon him, though with great modesty he did no otherwise expresse it, in a letter sent unto the King, then that he could have wished his Majesty had spared his Declaration on *Saturday last*. But the Earles friends were as much unsatisfied in the Kings coming at that time, as in that passage of his Speech, giving it out, that the King was put upon it by some of his bosome-Enemies, which were in neere trust about him, on purpose to set him at greater odds with the House of Commons, and consequently with the people whom they represented, by drawing on himselfe the envy of that businesse, howsoever it happened;

pened : That if the Earle should be attainted notwithstanding by the Votes of the Lords, it would be looked upon as a thing done against his will, and no thanks to him ; but if he were acquitted by them, who but the King must beare the storme of all popular clamours : That it was possible enough that the *cnrs.* could be so considerate of their own condition, as not to make a rod for themselves, under colour it was intended for another man, and so that *Bill* of Attainder might have rested there ; but had it passed (which was the worst that could happen in it) the King had still the liberty of a Negative voice, or might have yielded at the last, to the importunity of the Commons, with lesse dishonour, then after such a Declaration, and so publickly made : And finally that by dissenting from the *Bill* when it came to his turne, it could have raised no greater tumults then it did, to compell him to it, and possibly had raised none at all, because he had done it in a Parliamentary and regular way ; whereas his coming at that time, and in that manner to the House of Peers, was looked upon as a forestalling of their Judgements, and interruption of the Course of Justice by threats and menaces, from whence what

fruits

fruits could be expected, but the exasperating of the Commons to such acts of violence, as should not onely make sure worke with the Earle of Strafford, but lay a ground of future troubles for himselfe and his. This was the summe of those discourses at that time, which whether they had more of truth, or of passion in them, it is hard to say. But who can goe against the workings of that heavenly Providence, whose judgements are past finding out, and his wayes unsearchable. What Tumults hereupon ensued, we shall finde in our Author, who telleth us withall, of tumultuous people thus drawn together, that

They posted upon the gate of Westminster Fol. 256.
a Catalogue of those whose suffrages were for the Earles acquittall, under the Title of Straffordians.] This paper was not posted up on the Gate of Westminster, but on the corner of the wall of Sir William Brunkards house, in the old Palace yard in Westminster, with this clause added to the end, This and more shall be done to the Enemies of Justice. The names of which Straffordians, since our Author hath not pleased to give us, and that I thinke it neither dishonourable, nor unsafe to them (being elsewhere Printed) I shall

shall here adde in the same order as they stood in the Paper, That is to say,

1. Lord Digbie.
2. Lord Compton.
3. Lord Buckhurst.
4. Sir Rob. Hatton.
5. Sir Thomas Fanshawe.
6. Sir Edward Alford.
7. Sir Nicho. Slanning.
8. Sir Thomas Danby.
9. Sir Geo. Wentworth.
10. Sir Peter Wentworth.
11. Sir Frederick Cornwallis.
12. Sir William Carnaby.
13. Sir Richard Winn.
14. Sir Gervase Clifton.
15. Sir William Withrington.
16. Sir William Pennyman.
17. Sir Patrick Curwent.
18. Sir Richard Lee.
19. Sir Henry Slingsby.
20. Sir William Portman.
21. Mr. Gervase Hallis.
22. Mr. Sydyn Godolphin.
23. Mr. Cooke.
24. Mr. Coventry.
25. Mr. Ben. Weston.
26. Mr. Will. Weston.
27. Mr. Selden.
28. Mr. Alford.

29. Mr. *Floyd.*
30. Mr. *Herbert.*
31. Captain *Digby.*
32. Sergeant *Hide.*
33. Mr. *Taylor.*
34. Mr. *Griffith.*
35. Mr. *Scowen.*
36. Mr. *Bridgman.*
37. Mr. *Fettiplace.*
38. Dr. *Turner.*
39. Capt. *Charles Price.*
40. Dr. *Parry Civilian.*
41. Mr. *Arundell.*
42. Mr. *Newport.*
43. Mr. *Holborne.*
44. Mr. *Noell.*
45. Mr. *Kirton.*
46. Mr. *Pollard.*
47. Mr. *Price.*
48. Mr. *Travaunmian.*
49. Mr. *Jane.*
50. Mr. *Edgecombe.*
51. Mr. *Chilchly.*
52. Mr. *Mallery.*
53. Mr. *Porter.*
54. Mr. *White Secret. E. D.*
55. Mr. *Warwick.* These were

the men exposed unto the fury of un-
governed people, so mad and violent, that
some of them were heard to say, That if
they

they could not have the *Lieutenants* life; they would have the *Kings*.

Ibid.

This Protestation being formed was the next day read in the lower House, and generally taken by all the Members.] Our Author is here out as in that before, the *Protestation* not being taken the next day after it was framed, but on the very same day before the Members were committed to go out of the House; and though it was taken generally by all the Members, yet it was not taken by them all, the Lord Digbie and an Unkle of his refusing it. But being taken by all the rest, it was not long after sent to the Lords, by whom (neither out of fear or favour) it was taken also; and afterwards imposed upon all the Subjects by an Order of the House of Commons, July the 30th. 1641. under pain of being thought unfit to bear any Office either in the Church or Common-wealth; the Lords not onely not consenting to it, but dissenting from it. Which *Protestation* (being omitted by our Author, I shall here subjoyn, that we may see how punctually it hath been observed by them that took it, and is this that followeth:

I A. B. doe in the presence of Almighty God, promise, vow, and protest to maintain and defend, as far as lawfully I may, with my life, power, and estate, the true reformed Protestant Religion, expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of England, against all Popery and Popish Innovations within this Realme contrary to the same Doctrine, and according to the duty of my Allegiance to his Majesties Royall Person, Honour, and Estate; as also the Power and Privileges of Parliament, the lawfull rights and liberties of the subject, and every person that maketh this Protestation in whatsoever he shall doe in the lawfull pursuance of the same. And to my power and as farre as lawfully I may I will oppose, and by all good wates and means indeavour to bring to condigne punishment all such as shall either by force, practice, plots, counsels, and conspiracies, or otherwise doe any thing, to the contrary of any thing in
this

this present Protestation contained. And further that I shall in all just and honourable waies, indeavour to preserve the union and peace between the three Kingdomes of England, Scotland, and Ireland. And neither for hope, fear, nor other respect shall relinquish this promise, vow, and Protestation.

Fol. 257. *In this perplexity of thoughts he consults with four Bishops, &c.]* Not sent for by himself, but sent to him by the Houses of Parliament to inform his conscience, and bring him to yeild unto the Bill; In the nomination of which Bishops they consulted rather their own ends than the Kings satisfaction. The persons sent on this employment were the Primate of *Armagh*, the Bishops of *Lincoln*, *Durham*, and *Carlisle*: of which, the two last being men unskilled in Politick and Secular affairs, depended wholly on the judgment of the other two; and those (as the Houses knew well enough) carried a sharp tooth towards the *Lord Lieutenant* upon former grudges. The displeasure which the Primate had conceived against him, was for the abrogating of the Articles of Religion

Religion established in the Church of Ireland, and setting in their place the Articles of the Church of England, Anno 1633. And this he reckoned on his score, because Dr. *Bramall* (once Chaplain to the Lord Lieutenant, and) then Bishop of *Derrie*, had appeared most in it. But he on whose dextetiry they did most depend for this businesse, was the Bishop of *Lincolne*, of worse affections than the other, in regard that when the Bishop was under the Star-chamber suit, the Lieutenant then Lord Deputie of Ireland, put off his going thither for a Term or two, of purpose (as it was conceived) to have a fling at him before he went. This struck so deep in the Bishops stomach, that he would not think himself in safety, where the Earle had any thing to doe, and so was like to help him forwards to the other world. Nor speak I this but on some good ground: For when the Bishop, being then Prisoner in the Tower, had made means by the Queen to be admitted to a reconciliation with His Majesty, offering both his Bishoprick and Deanery of *Westminster*, in confidence that the King would so provide for him, that he should not go much lesse than he was: the King upon the Queens desire sent, the Earle of

R

Dorset

Dorset (from whose mouth I have it) to accept the Bishops offer on the one side, and on the other side to promise him in his Majesties name, the next good Bishoprick that should fall in *Ireland*: which Proposition being made, the Bishop absolutely refused to hearken to it, telling the E. of *Dorset*, that he had made a shift, by the power and mediation of his friends, to hold out against his enemies here for 7 yeares together, but if they should send him into *Ireland*, he should there fall into the hands of a man, who once in seven months would finde out some old Statute or other to cut off his head. Think you the King was not likely to be well informed in His conscience, when men so interested were designed unto the managing, and preparing of it? and so it proved in the event. For our Author telleth us, that on the morrow after being

Fol. 158. Munday, May the 10th, in the morning His Majesty signed a Commission to the Earle of Arundel, &c. for the passing of the two Bills; one for Continuation of the Parliament during the pleasure of the two Houses: the other for the Attainder against the Earle of Strafford.] And these two Bills he signed (as I have been told) with one pen full of Inke, by one of which he was
suffi-

Insufficiently punished for his consenting to the other. By his consenting to the *Bill of Attainder*, he did not onely cut off his right hand with his left, as was affirmed of *Valentinian* the Emperour when he caused *Attius* to be slain; but found such a remorse of conscience still attending on him that it never left him till his death: And by consenting to the other, He put such an irrevocable power into the hands of his enemies, as was made use of afterwards not onely to His own destruction, but to the disherison of His Children, and the undoing of all those who adhered unto Him; who drew Him to the first, we are told by our Author; and who perswaded Him to the last, may be now enquired. Some charge it on the Queen, who being terrified with the Tumults, perswade the King to yield unto it, as the onely expedient for appeasing the people: some attribute it to the Lord Say then Master of the Wards, and one of His Majesties privie Councell, who (as it is reported) when the King asked him if a Continuance for seven years might not serve the turn? made answer, That he hoped they should dispatch all businesses in so many moneths; and that if His Majestie passed the Bill, it should be so farre from

making the Parliament perpetuall, that he was confident they would desire to be dissolved before three years end. Most lay the blame of it (as of all things else) on the Marquesse of *Hamilton*, who by cutting out so much work for the King in *England*, was sure to carry on his designs in *Scotland* without interruption: and I have heard from credible persons that he did bragge much of this service when he was in that Kingdome, affirming frequently that he had got a perpetuall Parliament for the *English*, and would procure the like for the *Scots* too before he had done: so hard a thing it is to say by what private perswasions and secret practises He was drawn to that, which proved so prejudiciall to Him, that it made Him presently grow lesse in the eyes of His people; insomuch that a Night before the passing of this Act, a Paper was set up near the Gates of *Whitehall*, importing that on the Morrow next there was to be Acted in the House of *Peers* a famous Tragic-Comedie, called, [*A King and no King.*] But as for the publick outward motives, which were used to induce Him to, and of the great power He had parted with by this Condescension, you may hear Himself thus speaking in His

Decla-

Declaration of the 12th of August. Upon information (saith He) that credit could not be obtained for so much money as was requisite for the relief of our Army, and people in the Northern parts for preventing the eminent danger the Kingdoms was in, and for supply of Our present and urgent occasions, for fear the Parliament might be dissolved before justice should be done upon Delinquents, publick grievances be redressed, a firm peace between the two Nations of England and Scotland concluded, and before provision should be made for the repayment of such moneys as should be so raised (though We know what power We parted from and trusted Our Houses with by so doing, and what might be the consequence of such a trust, if unfaithfully managed) We neglected all such suspicions, which all men now see deserved not to be slighted, and We willingly and immediately passed that Act for the Continuance of this Parliament, being resolved it should not be Our fault, if all those particulars were not speedily provided for, which seemed then to be the grounds of their desire.

May the 11. he wrote to the Lords this Fol. 160. Letter, the bearer whereof was no meaner person then the Prince of Wales.] In the Letter (which our Author passeth to

R 3 Neighly

slightly over) there are many things which gave great occasion of discourse to discerning men: 1. That the King having sped so ill by his last addresse unto the Parliament on the first of *May*, should put himselfe upon the hazard of another repulse. 2. That he should send this Letter (of which he could not rationally expect a contenting answer) by the hands of the Prince, as if he would accustome him from his very childhood to the *Refusalls* of his Subjects. 3. That he should descend so much beneath himselfe, as to be a *Supplicant* to his People, and yet be in such a diffidence with them, as not to move his owne desires, but by the mediation of his *Peers*. 4. That he should put himselfe to such a hopelesse trouble, as to write to them for the altering or annulling of a sentence passed but the day before, which they had gained with so much danger, and so many artifices; or to desire the Respite of two or three dayes, for the condemned Gentleman, which was a power he had not parted with by the Act of Attainder. 5. That in the *subscription* of the Letter he should give himselfe the name of their *Friend*, as if by passing the Act for the continuance of the Parliament, he had made himselfe but as one of them, at the best

best their *Equall*; for *Amicitia est inter Pares*, true friendship is amongst *Equalls* onely, as the saying is. 6. That he should give himselfe the title of *unalterable*, considering that he had publickly declared not long before, *that neither feare nor favour should make him doe a thing so much against his Conscience*, as to act any thing in order to the Condemnation of the Earle of *Strafford*, with reference to the matters which were charged upon him, and yet should signe the Bill for his *Attainder* within ten dayes after. And finally (not to say any thing of the *Militia*) with the *Forts* and *Navy* wherein they had not his consent.

But that which gave matter of most amazement, was, that he should subscribe at all, it being a thing so contrary to his owne custome, and the custome of his Predecessors, who used to write their names on the heads of those *Missives*, which were directed to their Subjects: And then that when the Letter was brought back to him without any effect, he ordered that it should be registred in the House of Peers, on a wan hope that they would use to his honour. Assuredly this under-writing of his name in his Letter to this last Parliamement, was of as

bad presage to him, as the *vailing* of his *Crowne* to the first; and his desire to have it put upon the register, did serve as a momento to them, that they should keep him *under*, now they had him down. For having reduced him to this passe, how easily did they gaine from him severall *Acts* for suppressing the Authority of the *Clerk of the Market*, and the Court of *Stannaries*, for intrenching the preambulation of the Forrests, and the Repealing the old *Acts* for Knighthood; with what a strong hand did they draw him to the abolishing of *Ship-money*, the *Star-Chamber*, the *High Commission*, the Courts of the *Marquesse* on the *North*, the Jurisdiction of all the Ecclesiasticall Courts, some priviledges formerly enjoyed by the Councell Table; besides the many Concessions at the Treaty in the Isle of *Wight*, which either should have been soon granted, or not at all. All of them certaine Testimonies of his being brought under, and all of them encouraged by so strange a submission of himselfe to the Power and Courtesie of his People, as he caused to be registred in this Letter.

Fol. 165. Thus died this unhappy Earle. And to dye thus by the stroak of Justice, &c.] The highest *Acts* of Justice are seldome without

out some obliquity, or *injustice* in them. For *summum jus est summa injuria*, as the saying is. But whether it were so in this case or not, whether he were not sent out of the world, *per viam expedientie*, rather then *per viam justitie*, as most wise men thought; Posterity free from all engagements of Love or Hatred, will be best able to determine. And so I leave him to his rest in the bed of Peace, with this Epitaph of *Clevelands* making, to be fixt upon it, that is to say,

*Here lies Wise and valiant Dust,
Hudled up 'twixt Fit and Just:
Strafford, who was hurried hence
'Twixt Treason and Convenience.
He spent his time here in a mist;
A Papist, yet a Calvinist.
His Princes neereſt Joy, and Griefe;
He had, yet wanted all reliefe.
The prop and ruine of the State;
The peoples violent love, and hate.
One in extreames lov'd and abhor'd,
Riddles lye here; or in a word,
Here lieth blood, and let it lye,
Speechlesſe ſtill, and never cry.*

A
A
A
A
A
A
A
A
A
A
A



An Alphabetical Table.

*Containing the uncouth and unusuall Words
which are found in our Author; those which
are in a different Character, being used by
him in a differing sense from that which
commonly they carry.*

A ^A
Acquist
Accalladoes
Ablude
Avisoos
Affix
Adoption
Acclaime
Asperse
Alimprovist
Abstruse
Appliated
Accequate
Anealed
August
Antihemes
Aculeated

Acquiescing
Amphibious
Accostable
Aborted
Autopsie
Atocritie
Anniversary
Annasitie
Anomabous
Apostrophe
Accriminated
Agnified
Ætiologie
Animadverted
Articulate
Agression
Antagonist
Adventitious

Alleviate
Adiaphorus

B ^B
Boorne

C
Complica-
ted

Cuergo
Ceremoniale
Conflagration
Celebrities
Culpabilitie
Condignitis
Coition
Canceleir
Concinnesse
Compensate

Cog-

An Alphabetical Table.

Cognasible
 Conceded
 Commensurate
 Complacence
Combustion
 Caresses
 Concrete
 Cajalled
 Causalitie
 Clientelary
 Confraternitie
 Concriminations
 Clancular
 Configuration
 Congelable
 Chirographie
 Chachexie

D^D Elatory
 Duall
 Destination
 Depredation
 Despondence
 Detrunk
 Dispensation
 Decussation
Donative
 Desponding
 Decore

Decocted
 Deplumed
 Desideration
 Diaphonous
Dilapidation
 Detrenching
 Decretory
 Disopsie
 Delatorians

E^E Xasse
Erect
 Enormitants
 Exuberancie
 Externe
 Elemented
 Exorated
 Emerging
 Ebullitians
 Emposted
 Evacuate
 Equilebrated
 Excogitate
 Equiperate
 Emrod
 Ematin
 Embryo
 Epiphonoma
 Effigies

Emergent
 Emolument
 Everteth
 Excoriated
 Erudition
 Eradicated

F^F Uligenous
 Ferocient
 Fortuitously
 Foculent

G^G Ermina-
 Gust ted
 Gestation
 Grison

H^H Olocaust
 Halcionian
 He&ique
 Hailemen
 Horizontall
 Hibernall
 Hypothesis

I^I Impede

Ithacu

An Alphabetical Table.

Ithacu
 Incurious
 Inhumed
 Iteration
 Inauspicious
Innited
 Intrinsique
 Incuriaffitie
 Individuation
 Impetuously
Incendiary
 Innitiation
 Inventioned
 Irritateth
 Judications
 Infortunium
 Joco-seriously
 Intersect
 Inflame
 Inaudable
Intend
 Impunitie
 Inorganicall
Impertinence
 Insolation
 Intense
 Intemorate
 Imperiofitie
 Inquietude
 Incantations

Incompassible
 Identitie
 Interfered
Jurors
 Impregned
 Imminent

L

Luminaries
 Luxuriance
 Leve-se-querre
 Luminans

M

Molis
 Magnetique
 Metuculoffitie
 Morasse
Missivus
 Metastrophe
 Meamorphusis
 Mode
 Meliorate
 Mercurialists
 Mutulated
 Mynatorie

N

Nonsense
Neutralitie

Noxiousness
 Narrators
 Nave
 Nude

O

Oblivious
 Ocular
 Organicall
 Omen
 Operate
 Otium
 Occult
 Odium
 Offertory
 Opine
Officiate
 Onerous

P

Postlimineaz
 Puisse (ced
 Patrite
 Procluded
Principalitie
 Ponderous
 Postlimineation
 Pollicitation
Parole
 Precarious
 Piaculary

Pro-

An Alphabetical Table.

Protervity
Pare-Royall
 Portentous
 Pondulous
 Periclitations
 Pa&A
 Paramonts
 Posthume
 Presidians
 Preponderate
 Parade
 Protended
 Paralious
 Parashier
 Philargicus
 Precognition
 Prevarication
 Pan Angliam
 Placable
 Portentous
 Pertrude
 Penultimo
 Palladium
 Perpending
 Preterition
 Promove
 Propensio.

R R
 Everbera-
 tion

Rependans
 Remora
 Recondito
 Ritention
 Ritualities
 Reciprocated
 Reductive
 Respond
 Ranciditie
 Reparti
 Renvoy
 Relax
Relatives
 Refulgent
 Recomation
 Repertory
 Radiant
 Rusticitio
 Researched
 Recidivator
Recognitantes
 Refurged
 Ranciditie
 Reduction.

S S
 Single unite
 Superinducted
 Scintillation
 Superfetation

Seminafities
 Sterill
 Synodites
Subsortitionfly
 Series
 Stipulateth
 Salubrius
 Stimulated
 Strictures
 Statiurch
 Salvas
 Simulary
 Synopsis
 Susceptible
Salitary
 Suburbicary
Superannuate
 Sedulous
 Symbale
 Sytems
 Supinely
 Succentoriated
 Stronded
 Scheme
 Sopited

T T.
 Emporali-
 ties

Te

[An Alphabetical Table.]

Temerated	Tempestively	Unite
Temeritie	Treatment	Vigill
Terrene		Virile
Trepidation	V	Vanum
Tendancie	V	Vacuitie
Transfiguration	Allediction	Venialitie
Transpretation	Unanim	Unizon and so
	Veteran	

I end this table with the Counsell of an old Gram-
marian, who adviseth thus ;

Moribus antiquis, presentibus utere verbis :

That is to say,
Retaine old Vertues, but forbear,
New words, not fitted, to the ears.

The End.

21st March 1944

[illegible]

1890-1891

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and dates, which appears to be a record of some kind. The names are written in a cursive script, and the dates are in a more formal, printed style. The list is organized into two columns, with names on the left and dates on the right.

1917

ERRATA

Page 4. line 7. ~~dele~~ two p. 5. l. 22. for Coines r. Laws p. 6.
 l. 6. for able r. old p. 9. l. 23. for no r. on p. 16. l. 12. for mala
 r. mola *ibid* l. 16. for University r. Divinity. p. 21. l. 15. for ani-
 malen r. animatum p. 24. l. 21. for and r. but p. 33. l. 21. for
 House r. Houses p. 41. l. 18. for his r. this p. 44. l. 30. for un-
 reasonable r. reasonable p. 45. l. 21. r. resolutions p. 58. for
faciente r. *favente* p. 64. l. 15. for paper r. prayers p. 76. l. 22.
 for pressed r. suppressed p. 78. l. 28. for *Westminst* r. *Winche-*
ster p. 95. l. 6. to no body but themselves, *ad. e.*, in case they
 should be discontinued for the times to come p. 105 l. 14. for
mentare r. *mutare* p. 106. l. 23. for that r. not. p. 140 l. 11. for
 finding r. hiding *ibid* l. 19. for *assens* r. *offens* p. 149. l. 10. for
 restrain r. estrange p. 152. l. 11. for then r. therein p. 153.
 l. 26. for last r. cast p. 154. l. 2. for 1631. r. 1630. p. 160. l. 15.
 for *Gadus* r. *Gades* p. 184. l. 26. for yet could this r. yet could
 not this p. 186. l. 30. for insalvation r. insatuation p. 190.
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